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SIX GREAT MISSIONARIES

SIX GREAT MISSIONARIES

of the

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

BY

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PREFACE

A PREFACE may state why a book has been written, or what authority there is for its contents. Sometimes an author deals with both matters.

It may be said briefly that the writer has been impressed by the general ignorance of the amount of missionary work done by the Christian Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that he is dissatisfied with the references made to it in such books as are accessible to the general reader. He has therefore had a double purpose in his selection of names ; he has chosen missionaries whose life-stories enable him to sketch systematic efforts to evangelize different parts of the world, and who are, in several cases, directly responsible for arousing severe criticism.

The attempt has been made to base the opinions expressed upon controversial matters on a study of contemporary writings. The general historical facts, when they are not in dispute, are mostly taken from modern histories. Thus while the author does not profess to be a historian who relies solely on original sources, he ventures to claim that on disputed points he has reached his own conclusions by a study of the evidence and not by dependence upon other people's opinions. He has, however, read and weighed the favourable and

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the adverse estimates of later writers upon controversial questions, to satisfy himself that he has not overlooked essential considerations. What has most impressed him is that on one side there seems to be an entire lack of imagination, and on the other a certain inability to conceive that a good and even holy man can make a serious error in judgement.

An Appendix has been attached to four of the chapters for the sake of those who may be interested to know something of the general history of these missions subsequent to the deaths of the men whose life-work has been sketched. They have been printed in smaller type and can be omitted by the general reader.

The author expresses his thanks to the librarians of the S.P.G. and of S. Augustine's College, Canterbury, for their kindness in lending him books, and especially for the use of those books which are difficult to procure.

D. J.

January, 1930.

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Six Great Missionaries

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of these sketches is to give some account of missionary work in the centuries that immediately precede the Evangelical Revival. It is often thought to be sufficient to refer to a few names, such as S. Francis of Assisi, Raymund Lull, and S. Francis Xavier, as proof that gross darkness had not altogether covered the people of Christendom. An undefined number of centuries is summed up under a broad generalization to the effect that the Church became cold or dead until the rise of Protestant missions. But to gather up under a few names, which suggest isolated and occasional enterprise, the systematic and widely spread labours carried on persistently through several centuries, does not more fairly represent the facts than would the statement that something has been done by such men as John Eliot, William Carey, and Dr. Livingstone, give a truthful impression of the organized labours which since the Reformation have been undertaken outside the Roman Communion.

Among the popular writers, to whom alone we are referring, there is less agreement about the *terminus a quo* of this supposed period of darkness than about its *terminus ad quem*. Occasionally it is assumed that it began upon the deaths of the Apostles ; more often there is some recognition of

the conversion of the Roman Empire ; it is not rare to find an even generous reference to the Nestorian missions in China ; the evangelization of the British Isles comes in for some notice ; and the labours of S. Boniface and his companions may be named. But the persistent efforts of the Franciscans and the Dominicans are generally passed over in silence, together with the missionary activities of the Jesuits, and the French enterprises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

When occasional reference is made to the evangelistic work of the sixteenth and following centuries in Japan, China, or India, a chilly admission of its existence is in most cases followed by a criticism so severe that it amounts to condemnation. And this censure seems to pass from writer to writer without a suspicion that there may be just cause to modify previous strictures, or that there is any call to form an independent judgement. It is not a justification of this offence that popular writings cannot balance nicely between what may be said on the one side and on the other, or dwell on mitigating considerations when passing judgement. The fact that such books must give conclusions, and omit the arguments that led to them, increases the responsibility of writers who know that their words will be read without a suspicion that they can be called in question. We are to-day rightly offended if any one uses abusive language about Martin Luther, because he regards the Reformation as an almost unqualified evil ; and we are disgusted if he does so when addressing people who are incapable of forming an independent judgement. We ought not to be less angry at some of the sweeping statements that are made about the missions of the Roman Communion.

The selection of names is made with the double

purpose of illustrating the wide field of missionary enterprise during this period and of forming a judgement upon grave charges that have been brought against their work. In some instances we shall not be able to dispel these charges, but the attempt will be made to distinguish between men and methods, and between what can be seen in the light of subsequent developments and what was apparent at the time.

There are certain mitigating considerations that ought to be weighed before judgement is passed on the evangelistic labours of former generations. They may be more or less summed up by pointing to the difference between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the nineteenth. We do not to-day condemn Puritanism because it did not attain to the broad-mindedness of modern Liberal-Evangelicalism ; we consider it in relation to the time in which it arose, and are content to observe its limitations while doing justice to its contribution to the betterment of the age. And we have other things to say of our pioneer English missions to India than that they taught their converts to lean upon the support of foreigners, and imposed upon them the ecclesiastical and doctrinal customs and phraseology which were the outcome of English and Scottish religious history. When a brief account is written of the first fifty years of English and Scotch missionary work in that country we dwell almost exclusively upon its generous gift of the Gospel of Christ, upon the devoted lives of the workers and the excellence of certain lines which they laid down. We should regard it as historically unsound, and as ungenerous and indeed unfair, either to begin the story of the modern evangelization of India with the work that was undertaken after the Mutiny, or to refer to the earlier labours

only to condemn them because they did not conform to the standards of the scientific missionary policy of the twentieth century.

We have thought it desirable to leave a more detailed consideration of the popular misunderstandings of the missionary work of these centuries until the reader shall be in a better position to appreciate them. It is sufficient to state here that the sketches that follow are deliberately written in a spirit of generous admiration. In a final chapter an attempt will be made to reach some broad conclusions. But because it is not safe to assume any familiarity with the state of Europe between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the opening of the eighteenth, some remarks may be of service as introduction to what follows. Slight missionary sketches, vignettes, cannot supply a sufficient background. Even as it is, the chapters will be found unduly discursive owing to an attempt, inadequate indeed, to fit the pictures into suitable frames.

Several chapters have Spain and Portugal for their background, because we start from the discoveries of the New World and the bold navigation which first brought these two kingdoms into contact with eastern Asia. It should be remembered that commerce as well as the propagation of the Christian faith had a great deal to do with the activity of the different nations, and that when the time is reached when Holland and England began to compete with Spain and Portugal it was the commercial value of the New World and the Far East that was almost their only interest. In this respect they were unlike the two kingdoms which were least of all affected by the Reformation. A certain superficial appearance of religious zeal is given to these other countries because they un-

doubtedly felt that they were grappling with the tyranny of Rome and trying to crush the horrors of the Inquisition : Holland was fighting for its existence, religious and political ; and England, to be rid of Popish plots. But the strange thing, generally ignored, is that while Spain and Portugal realized a responsibility to carry the Gospel to the heathen world, Holland and England treated their religion as a private possession.

We are to pass through the greatest period in the history of Spain and Portugal, at times as separate kingdoms, and for one long period united under the crown of Spain. Charles V was King of Spain, and by inheritance the virtual ruler of the Netherlands, and possessor of other European provinces ; he was also Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and was therefore greatly concerned with the political affairs of all Europe and involved in the struggles of the Reformation as the elected defender of the Church. His son Philip II of Spain was not Emperor, but was actually a more whole-heartedly devoted Papist than Charles. We are familiar with him owing to the writings of Prescott and Motley, and can always connect him in our minds with Queen Mary, with the Spanish Armada, and with the rise of the Dutch republic. The strength of Spain was being rapidly exhausted, and at times we shall come across signs of the short-lived naval supremacy of Holland. Before we have ended we shall find Spain and Portugal struggling to maintain the claim of a religious prerogative which was both out of date and beyond their weakened powers to exercise.

Then we pass to the period of French advance in colonial enterprise, and to its increasing influence in Europe, reaching a climax in the age of Louis XIV. The great struggle for world-supremacy,

which was actually the struggle for commerce rather than for conquest, has passed from Spain and Holland to France and England ; it has passed from New Spain and the Far East to India and Canada. About this period we all have to know a little, because as Englishmen India and Canada mean a great deal to us. But we very likely know next to nothing of the religious revival in France, and that with this nation, as with Spain and Portugal, there was a sense of responsibility towards the Indians, as they were called, whether in India proper or in Canada. Both in the period of Spain and Portugal's pre-eminence, and in the later period of the dominance of France, the Church's zeal found a genuine echo in the hearts of kings. It is a popular mistake to think that these kings were only interested in missions because they hoped to use them as tools for their political ends.

We have less to do with England, because the concern of our country in other parts of the world was not a missionary interest, but solely political and commercial. And if this book is altogether about Roman Catholic evangelization it is because in the period under review there were no other missions on an equal scale, and very few of any sort whatever. Dates are tiresome things, and they occur more often than is pleasant in the pages that follow ; but they are useful pegs on which a curious reader can hang all sorts of things, if he will take the trouble to ask himself what was going on in England at such a time. In that way he will pass from Henry VIII to Elizabeth, and in some parts to Queen Anne. He can therefore, if he like, think of the Spanish Armada and of Jesuit plots in England, or of Oliver Cromwell in the less familiar aspect of a European

statesman opposing himself to Protestant Holland, and finally of the Revolution and of Marlborough.

Of the ' Thirty Years' War,' with its devastating ruin of central Europe, there will be no hint ; but it will be good to have it at the back of one's mind when one is reading of events in the seventeenth century. Our story ends with the wars of Marlborough. Thus we begin with a united Christendom hastening towards dismemberment, and pass through the Counter-Reformation of southern Europe, which is a name for the reform of morals and the renewal of spiritual life in that part of Europe which rejected the theological and ecclesiastical foundations of the Reformation, and we end with the revival of life in the French Church.

We are to go back in mind to a time when the New World of the West Indies and the Americas was being discovered ; to a time when navigation was the great crusading enterprise of the age, and when there was a violent competition for the Oriental trade ; to a time when India, Japan, and China were presenting new fields of commercial enterprise, and East India companies were springing into existence. The missionaries came out of a very different Europe from the one with which we are familiar, and they sprang up in amazing abundance. One of the disadvantages of the method of presentation adopted in this book is that it obscures the amount of missionary work, and inclines the reader to think of individuals instead of missions. Yet to attempt a history of missions, rather than to present general pictures round certain remarkable personalities, would be somewhat colourless and statistical. The Society or Company of Jesus, known by every one as the Jesuits, was founded in 1540 ; the older Religious Orders were already sending out missionaries ; the

Sacra Congregatio de propaganda Fide ('Propaganda') was established in 1622, and its college for the training of missionaries in 1627; the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission, known as 'The Lazarists,' was coming into existence at the same time; and the *Société des Missions Étrangères* was founded in Paris in 1658. If the dates 1698 and 1701 are important to us,[1] it is not because they mark the beginning of modern evangelization but because they fix the late rise and the small beginnings of the Anglican share in it.

The fitting close is the French Revolution, but only because its circumstances put an almost entire end for a time to the undertakings of which we shall watch the beginnings. When the world distractions ushered in by this earthquake, and keeping Western society in a state of disturbance until the final defeat of Napoleon, gave place to an uneasy Europe, striving to keep the peace, a new era of missions was begun, and under altogether fresh conditions. It was no longer a dominant Spain and Portugal, endeavouring through its higher life to fulfil its obligations to its immensely extended kingdom, nor even a masterful France which once threatened to be lord of North America and of India, but a Great Britain grappling with its possessions all over the world, and at home at the mercy of its industrial revolution.

It deserves consideration that so much of what is good in modern English life sprang up during the struggles of that period of national trial which began with the French terror and was only ended at Waterloo; the full vigour of the Evangelical Revival, the abolition of slavery, the rise of modern industrialism, the progress of political democracy, the beginnings of modern popular education, the

[1] S.P.C.K., founded in 1698: S.P.G., in 1701.

Sunday school movement, the growth of the philanthropic spirit, and modern English missionary work. Men did not see all these things at the time, and doubtless very gloomy views of the degeneracy of the age were expressed by many people. There are not wanting signs that a similar revival of life is rising out of the shorter but more disastrous years from which we seem to be fitfully and almost uncertainly recovering.

Whether among other signs of vitality we are to see a revival of evangelistic fervour at all comparable with that of the first half of the last century depends on the hidden life of the Church, and not upon organized attempts to arouse missionary fervour. Life springs out of life. A new understanding of the meaning of human life, a new sense of national responsibility, a new estimate of the unity of the world, of the inter-racial fellowship of industry and commerce, of the duty to raise everywhere the standard of human life to the full measure of its possible development, a new scale of values, a new revelation of the Spirit in every form of life, and a new understanding of God in the manifoldness of His self-revelation in nature and history, will in this century raise that nation to the greatest height which has the clearest vision and offers the greatest service in the fullest sacrifice. Only by giving life shall we have more life. ' Give, and it shall be given unto you.'

CHAPTER I

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

A MODERN visitor to Spain, when he has looked at the main buildings of Seville and has seen the picture galleries, will do well to wander about in the older parts of the city, and attempt to reconstruct its life in the great days of Ferdinand and Isabella, of the Emperor Charles V and of Philip II ; and he may possibly be able to enrich his mental picture by similar impressions formed during rambles in Cordova. Then, if he returns to the neighbourhood of the Cathedral and the Alcazar, he will be ready to conceive what Seville was like, when it was altogether made up of intricate and winding streets, narrow and crooked, breaking up and parting their ways almost as soon as they have started, and when its houses were shut off from the gaze of the curious passer-by, unless perchance an open gateway gave a casual glimpse of some cool garden. For Christian Seville had been a Moorish city, and still retained many features of its old life.

If, further, the visitor wishes to recall more accurately the appearance of the city towards the end of the fifteenth century, he must think of the imposing cathedral of Spanish Gothic as only nearing its completion, with the Moorish tower beside it as of half its present height ; and as he rests himself in the Court of Oranges he must picture it as double its present size. The superb Alcazar,

almost comparable with the Alhambra at Granada, will help him to throw his mind back to the glory of a rule that had already passed away ; and, if he has noticed the uninspiring Torre del Oro, he will realize the limits of the old city of which this is one of the mural towers. He must, further, wipe off from his mental vision the magnificent Town Hall, the Archbishop's Palace, and the Exchange with its noble staircase that leads to the Indian archives. It may seem to him that when, in addition to all this, he has to forget that such artists as Velasquez and Murillo have ever existed, it is a poor city of which he has been trying to recover a picture ; but we shall find reason to fill it with a busy, pulsating life at a time of new and vigorous energy.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Crusades had degenerated, the spirit which had once animated them led the son of a noble family of Limoges to join himself to Ferdinand III of Castile in his determination to reduce the Moors. He may have shared in the fall of Cordova in 1236 ; he certainly took part in the conquest of Seville, and for reward was raised to rank among the Christian nobility. When in 1474 a scion of this house became the happy father of a little boy, who was to earn the proud title of *Procurador de las Indias* (Protector of the Indies), the city in which Antonio de las Casas dwelt had recovered from the loss of its trade following upon the voluntary exile of the Moors, and was as prosperous in its commercial enterprises as its favourable situation could make it. The history of this child, Bartholomew (Bartolomé), will show that the spirit of his illustrious ancestor, the friend of S. Ferdinand the Castilian King who had been canonized for his zeal

against the Albigensians rather than for his crusades against the Moors, had descended upon an offspring of his line who was also able to hold intimate converse with kings and the great ones of the earth, and to show forth the crusading temper under the conditions of another age and in a new world.

Can we recall, even roughly, the influences that moulded the character of this youth? From the facts that his father held lands in the recently discovered 'Indies,' and that the boy was subjected to the temptations incidental to his social rank, there was every probability that he would be ruined by newly acquired wealth and become steeped in the crimes of his contemporaries. Yet he was to become a priest, not by being immured from childhood within the walls of a seminary, but of free choice in mature life, and after having seen the great world; he was to become a Dominican Father, and was to labour incessantly for more than fifty years on behalf of those who were then known as, and were at first supposed to be, Indians.

One important element in his life would undoubtedly be the strongly patriotic grip with which his religious instruction would take hold of him, such as we to-day do not easily understand. Our forefathers in the days of Elizabeth would, however, have appreciated it. The age in which he lived, and the social rank that he enjoyed, would increase his enthusiasm for the Catholic monarchy which was still carrying on its crusade against the Moors, and was just then about to enjoy the triumph of the conquest of Granada, the last stronghold of the Mohammedan religion in the peninsula. Even in distant London, not yet dreaming of a Spanish Armada, so signal a triumph was celebrated by a special thanksgiving in S. Paul's.

Isabella, the Catholic Queen of Castile, was one to win the ardent loyalty of any Spaniard, and by her marriage with Ferdinand of Aragon almost all Spain was joined under one rule.

Whatever of crusading blood still remained in the youth's veins would be stirred as Bartolomé grew old enough to feed upon the news that was being discussed in Seville; how the Turks had taken Constantinople, and were threatening Christian Europe, and how the Moors made the coasts of Spain and Portugal dangerous by their piracy. To what eager conversations he must have listened, when news and rumour were passing rapidly from mouth to mouth, supplying what is now to be had for one penny from an evening paper! An occasional pang of jealousy there might be, that little Portugal was establishing its grip upon Western Africa. Great was the excitement when first the boy heard that Bartolomé Diaz had penetrated boldly into the open sea and had found his way into the Indian Ocean, and the prospect was open of wresting the Oriental trade from its Arabian monopoly.

The University of Salamanca, where Bartolomé spent his school-days, had been founded or refounded by the saintly Ferdinand whom his ancestor had served, and was at this time at the height of its European reputation. Here at any rate, even if not in the younger and still more impressionable days of the child's religious instruction, he would come under the influence of the Dominicans; for they had an old established house in Seville, and were also influential in the University. They would not be slow, especially whenever the New World was mentioned, to tell of their canonized founder, himself a Spaniard, and a sharer in the attempt to convert the Albigensians from their

Manichæan errors ; of his life-long desire to preach to the Moors ; of the fact that the Order called by his name had been a missionary society since its foundation in 1215, sending its agents to the heathen parts of Europe, to Palestine, Central Asia, and as far afield as Tibet and North China, even before the end of the thirteenth century.

Strange are the coincidences of history ! We have no reason to suppose that in his Salamanca days Bartolomé had any thought of becoming either a missionary or a Dominican. It is quite certain that when he listened to some pious Father who was telling of S. Dominic's patience in trying to win over the Albigensians to the truth, the last thing of which he would think was that future centuries would play such tricks with Dominic's and his own names, as to regard the one as practically the founder of the Inquisition,[1] and himself as introducing African slavery into the New World.

It is delightful to picture the young man, proudly attended by an Indian slave, whom his father has just brought back for him from his bold voyage with that Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, of whom everybody in Seville and in Salamanca was speaking. This is supposed to be in 1496, when he was probably no longer a university student, although one of his modern biographers refers to the slave as being sent to him at Salamanca.[2] It is a detail of no moment, and

[1] ' So far as can be seen from the sources, Dominic took no part in the crusade, but endeavoured to carry his spiritual activity on the same lines as before. The oldest trustworthy sources know nothing of his having exercised the office of Inquisitor during the Albigensian war ' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* ; article on Dominic, quoting from a competent Protestant historian).

[2] The exact dates of las Casas' early life are not certain ; Sir Arthur Helps and F. A. MacNutt give occasionally contradic-

in any case Bartolomé did not swagger about with him for very long ; for Queen Isabella resented the liberty that was being taken with her new subjects, and they were all shipped off home in 1500, and ' mine was among the number,' as las Casas wrote in later years.

When one thinks of his father Antonio venturing on this sea voyage with Christopher Columbus, what visions it conjures up of talks in the Sevillian home ! How it would confirm Bartolomé's loyal devotion to the Queen, who had ascended the throne in the year of his birth, when with sparkling eyes Columbus told how she had believed in him, when Portugal and England had neglected him, and, in spite of empty coffers due to incessant wars, had pledged even her crown jewels, if need be, to his wild notion that since the world was round one could reach India by going west as well as by going east ! It is said that to the day of his death the discoverer of America did not know that he had found a new world in between Europe and the Far East of India and Cathay. But perhaps he did not like to confess that he had not reached India, and thus allowed the name of the insignificant Amerigo Vespucci to be given to the great continent instead of his own.

Here, for the moment, we must leave the young man, school-days over, his father safe at home, his Indian slave near at hand, and with nothing more to think about than how to enjoy the jolly life of Seville and his father's inheritance, increased by his Indian possessions. Perhaps his mind was already stretching out towards that new world which was one day to become his home ; possibly

tory dates. According to one account Bartolomé became a licentiate of Salamanca in his eighteenth year. The fall of Granada was in January, 1492

he had occasional thoughts of doing service for Holy Church as an alternative to a life of wealth or adventure. But there is no hint of such things in his own later correspondence and writings. And while his future is still uncertain, we may notice a little child, by name Inigo, who is playing with his elder brothers and sisters. His home is in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, and he is to go, when he is old enough to read, to be a page in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. He may be dreaming even now of military glory, but certainly not of becoming the founder of a Religious Order. He is one day to be known throughout the world as S. Ignatius Loyola. And far off in Eisenach of Saxony an obscure lad was settling down to his arduous studies, equally unaware of what lay before him, and a good deal more concerned with present means to get well fed than with dreams of any defiance of the Pope who ruled in Rome. The name of Martin Luther was also to become of world-wide reputation, and to be as much adored and hated as that of the founder of the Society of Jesus.

The discoveries of the New World were going on apace. There are three well-marked divisions, associated with the names of Columbus, Cortes, and Pizarro. To the different voyages of Columbus belong the discovery and occupation of the islands of the West Indies which are known as the Greater Antilles, and of Hispaniola (or little Spain), known also as San Domingo and Hayti. Cuba was not seriously occupied until 1511 when Diego Velazquez undertook the task; Jamaica or Santiago was neglected until 1509, and similarly Porto Rico had been left until Juan Ponce de Leon was given authority to control it in 1508. Panama and the

northern coast-line of South America were likewise brought under Spanish control.

Hernando Cortez or Cortes offers a striking contrast with the future career of las Casas. He also was of good family and had studied at Salamanca, and he set sail in 1504 as a youth of nineteen for service under the governor of Hispaniola. His opportunity came in 1518 when he was sent to take possession of Cuba. The next year he passed on to Mexico, and began a series of conquests which for skill, daring, unscrupulosity, and cruelty are unparalleled except in that age. His successes, added to his insubordination, forced Charles V to recognize his authority; only in 1535, with the arrival of Antonio de Mendoza as viceroy, was there any amelioration of the fate which had fallen upon the descendants of an ancient civilization. Central America, discovered by Columbus, was conquered by Cortez between 1522 and 1525.

Pizarro's name does not suggest any comparison with las Casas, for he neither enjoyed his social position nor his educational advantages. He went to New Spain in early manhood and pushed his way up. As often happens with men such as he was, if they meet with good fortune and make rapid progress, he did not consider himself sufficiently encouraged. He returned to Spain, and then with liberal concessions from Charles V he went back to the land of his ambitions, and discovered and conquered Peru in 1532 and the following years. Also, as not infrequently happens with such men, he quarrelled with his partner and had him executed, and then was himself assassinated.

When one thinks of the extent of country brought under European rule—it can scarcely be called European civilization—and of the appalling loss of Indian life which followed rapidly from this

occupation, it might be supposed that large armies had been dispatched from Spain. But Ferdinand and Isabella, and still more Charles V, had work enough for their soldiers to do. It has been estimated that until the middle of the sixteenth century the number of pure Spaniards in the new Spanish world was probably not more than fifteen thousand, and they had gone out in small detachments, and mostly to prosecute their own fortunes. Some of them may have been good enough men when they went, others were reckless, others again were of the offscourings of the big cities. The conditions in which they found themselves demoralized them rapidly, and the fear of being overpowered by numbers added to their cruelty towards a race of men whom one can only suppose that they scarcely regarded as human beings. Las Casas narrates that in the early days of the occupation of Hispaniola the Spaniards 'held up the bodies of mothers and children upon their lances; they set up gibbets and hanged up thirteen of these poor creatures in honour of Jesus Christ and His twelve apostles (as they blasphemously expressed themselves); they kindled a great fire under these gibbets to burn those they had hanged upon 'em.' 'They taught dogs to go a-hunting for these poor wretches, and to devour 'em as if they had been beasts.' In his description of the cruelties in Cuba he tells of a chief who was to be burnt alive for the crime of having taken up arms to defend himself and his subjects: 'While he was in the midst of the flames, tied to a stake, a certain Franciscan Frier of great Piety and Vertue, took upon him to speak to him of God and our Religion, and so explain to him some Articles of the Catholick Faith, of which he had never heard a word before, promising him Eternal Life, if he would believe, and

threatening him with eternal Torment, if he continued obstinate in his Infidelity. *Hathuey* reflecting on the matter, as much as the Place and the Condition in which he was would permit, ask'd the Frier that instructed him, whether the Gate of Heaven was open to the *Spaniards*; and being answered that such of 'em as were good men might hope for entrance there, the *Cacyque*, without any further deliberation, told him, he had no mind to go to Heaven, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked Company as they were; but would much rather choose to go to Hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesom sight of such kind of People: To so great a degree have the wicked Actions and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* dishonor'd God and his Religion in the Minds of the *Americans*.'

We have taken these quotations from 'An Account of the First Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in *America*, containing The most Exact Relation hitherto published, of their unparallel'd Cruelties on the *Indians*, in the destruction of above Forty Millions of People. With the Propositions offer'd to the King of *Spain*, to prevent the further Ruin of the *West Indies*. By *Don Bartholomew de las Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, who was an Eye-witness of their Cruelties.'[1] It is a translation of the famous *Brevisima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias* first printed in 1552 with a dedication to Philip II.

It is time that we return to the young Bartolomé, with his head full of the news from Hispaniola,

[1] Printed by *J. Darby* for *D. Brown* at the Black Swan and Bible without *Temple-Bar*, *J. Harris* of the Harrow in *Little Britain*, and *Andr. Bell* at the Cross-Keys and Bible in *Cornhil*. M.DC.XC.IX.

and deprived of his Indian slave. He is not yet thinking of these horrors which he was later to denounce in such unmeasured language, even telling Philip II that as once the Moors overran Spain as a judgement from God to punish the crime of King Roderick, so now the kingdom is surrounded with enemies and in danger of being wasted and ruined by the Turks and Moors. It was in 1502 that he went out to superintend his father's estates. He has told us nothing of his earliest impressions. He had his Indian slaves, and he worked them in the mines. During these years, so he writes in later life, about nine-tenths of the people perished. There is no suggestion that he had been outrageously shocked, so easy is it to reconcile oneself to what is seen to be going on, especially in a country that is new to one's experience. In 1510, when four Dominican monks had arrived, he was ordained priest, and continued to live his normal life in what to-day we should call a 'chummery,' with a layman like-minded with himself. There is no hint that he had felt any sense of priestly vocation, and one wonders why he sought to be ordained. The only mark of grace is that he and his friend treated their slaves with exceptional kindness. He occupied himself with the cultivation of his estates and the profit of his mines, and felt no scruple of conscience about the system which enslaved the Indians on his property. Yet this is the man who in later years was to say, 'I have left in the Indies Jesus Christ, our Lord, suffering stripes and afflictions and crucifixion, not once but thousands of times, at the hands of the Spaniards, who destroy and desolate those Indian nations, taking from them the opportunities of conversion and penitence, so that they die without faith and without sacraments.'

The goodness of God was waiting patiently upon Bartolomé's slow response to His grace. By every natural endowment and social advantage He had prepared His child for what He was preparing for him. A man of robust health and vigorous constitution, well educated, and, as was to be proved later, a man of considerable ability; one too who by his position in society was at ease in the presence of kings, gifted with a ready and sharp tongue, gentle where his heart was stirred, but irascible, and unconciliatory when aroused even though diplomacy might have suggested a soft answer, and of indomitable courage and perseverance. Perhaps the most severe criticism to be passed on his life is that he was not a constructive statesman.

The time of his conversion was now come. Slowly the horrors that he had seen in the pacification of Cuba, and the sights that daily met his eyes, forced him to close examination, and to seek for something deeper than the baptizing of dying Indians. In 1514 he was studying a certain passage of Scripture as the subject matter of a sermon. The words were from Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 18–22.

> He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and the gifts of unjust men are not accepted. The Most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is He pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices. Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor doeth as one that killeth the son before his father's eyes. The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood. He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodshedder.

As he read he recalled that a Dominican had once refused him absolution because he possessed Indians. And since it is not the way of a strong-willed man to hesitate when he sees his duty clearly, he reported straightway to the governor that he

could no longer hold land on the system in vogue, nor treat the Indians as slaves ; and he began to preach this uncongenial doctrine to the Spaniards.

Eagerly he waited for the return of his partner, who was gone on business to Trinidad. One can appreciate the convincing sense of the divine working, when his friend came back and reported that he had spent Lent in retreat at a Franciscan house and had resolved to ask the King's leave to found a college for Indians. Thus the two, priest and layman, talked together of what God would have them to do ; and in September, 1515, las Casas went back to Spain to lay the cause of the Indians before Ferdinand.

At this stage one must attempt to give some account of the Spanish relations with the Indians. Spaniards had gone to the West Indies to make money. They had to live ; they were too few to cultivate the soil for their sustenance, and such occupation would not make their fortunes. So from accepting generous gifts of food, they passed almost immediately to demanding large supplies of gold as a sign of submission to the King in whose name they claimed the land. There was the necessity, too, to create the right impression ; a few Spaniards among a large Indian population could only live safely if the Indians trusted them implicitly or were entirely overawed. Fear was a prominent feature added to greed, which helped to bring about the degradation of the Europeans.

The land-system against which las Casas was to wage warfare was of this sort. The King granted gifts out of his new lands, or gave leave to his representatives to do so. The deed (it was called *repartimiento*) ran in this way : 'To you —— is given a commandery (*encomienda*) of so many Indians with such a Cacique (the word is equivalent to chief

or head man), and you are to teach them the things of our Holy Catholic faith.' The last injunction was as little attended to as the previous clause was diligently applied with all the evils of serf labour. The general impression in the Spanish court was that there was unlimited land needing cultivation, and that it was good for the Indians to be brought under civilized order, to be taught peaceful arts and to learn the Christian religion. On the spot it meant that labour could be had without cost, and could easily be replaced. It meant, further, the rapid decay of Spanish character.

The Spaniards not only wished to make large fortunes, and to make them quickly ; they had also to return large profits to those who had invested money in the voyages, or to whom land assignments had been made in Europe. The whole of Hispaniola was put under tribute to supply so much gold or cotton, and it was far beyond the people's capacity either to work with habitual diligence, or, if they slaved night and day, to render what was demanded of them. When the Indians ran away, they were rebels who must be pursued and cut down. Then when the supply fell short of the demand, they were obstinate and disloyal ; hence more punishment, torture, and loss of life. So the Spaniards ceased almost to be human ; they burned, they killed for amusement, they set their dogs on the Indians, they became thirsty for blood, they grew intensely licentious. These revolting acts of inhumanity were not committed at a moment of intense excitement, but were practised in cold blood, and for sport. It is an awful warning of the terrible, and apparently almost irresistible, temptation to men who are supposed to be civilized, when the absorbing lust of gain is fed by the

incapacity of a lower civilization to offer strenuous, organized, and well-equipped resistance.

Las Casas tells a story of a Cuban chief who was explaining to his people the sort of men who had come over from Hispaniola. They supposed that the Spaniards were just wicked and cruel by nature; but the chief told them that they worshipped '*a very covetous sort of God, so that 'tis difficult to satisfy him; and to perform the Worship they render to this Idol, they'll exact immense Treasures of us, and will use their utmost Endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of Slavery, or else to put us to death.* Upon which he took a box full of Gold and valuable Jewels which he had with him, and exposing it to their view: *Here is* (says he) *the God of the* Spaniards, *whom we must honour with our Sports and Dances, to see if we can appease him, and render him propitious to us; that so he may command the* Spaniards *not to offer us any Injury.* They all applauded this Speech, and fell aleaping and dancing round the Box, till they had quite tired and spent themselves.' Then the Cacique said, '*If we keep this God till he 's taken away from us, he'll certainly cause our Lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of opinion 'twill be the best way to cast him into the River.*'

Prescott is probably right in being suspicious of the good bishop's arithmetic; las Casas certainly deals with round numbers on a generous scale. He has very possibly not distinguished between massacres and deaths from sickness and plague. But the depopulation is an undeniable fact, and the inhumanity of the Spaniards is sickening. No one doubts that the bishop is absolutely trustworthy when he records what he has seen, although he may have been too ready to accept Indian statements and Indian figures. And like many another

devoted missionary, he errs by being too partial to his flock. The Indians were not the gentle and confiding lambs that he describes them as being.

We are, however, at present only in the year 1515, and the young priest is in Spain. So unpopular had he already become with his fellow countrymen in Hispaniola and Cuba, that he had resorted to a little subterfuge, and had announced that he was going to Paris to complete his studies, lest, if the object of his journey were known, it should be prevented. There was an Indian Council in Madrid, of which the Bishop of Burgos was chairman, a typical example of the worldly and prosperous court bishop, who was also personally concerned in the profits of his own *repartimiento*. Las Casas, not yet a Dominican to be backed by all the influence of his Order, was bold enough to withstand him to the face. Perchance he might have accomplished more if he had been more conciliatory in manner; but he was always respected by rightly-minded persons. He was afraid of no man, and he burned with his subject. He was not less courageous in the presence of the great Cardinal Ximenes, a man whose influence was as great as later was to be that of Cardinal Richelieu in the court of Louis XIII of France, and who used his immense authority more nobly than did the Frenchman.

The terms which the young priest obtained were all that he could have desired, if only they could have been carried out; and he seemed to assume that they would be obeyed; unconditional liberty for the Indians, and the suppression of all *repartimientos* and *encomiendas*. The task of seeing them enforced was committed to the Hieronymites, who had taken no part in Indian affairs; and a certain licentiate of Seville was sent to make

inquiries on the spot. From the Cardinal, las Casas received an order in these terms : ' The Queen and the King. Bartolomé de las Casas, priest, native of the city of Seville, and resident in the island of Cuba which is in the Indies. Forasmuch as we are informed, etc.' And it charges him to return to these islands and advise the Hieronymites concerning everything that touches the welfare and liberty and good treatment of the Indians. It was ' Done at Madrid the 17th day of September in the year 1516.'

Unfortunately there were too many persons in Spain, as well as in Cuba, who were interested in large profits ; and the Hieronymites were ' got at ' in both places. The Seville licentiate was also not impressed by the evils of which las Casas had complained. Nothing was done. Therefore in 1517 the good priest sailed again to Spain, armed with letters from the Franciscans and the Dominicans. It must be admitted that to a statesman the situation was more complex than it seemed to the missionary. There had been such fearful destruction of life, and the Indians were in such abject terror of the Spaniards, and the Spaniards were so demoralized, and the land was so little cultivated, that, if every form of enforced labour had been suppressed, it is difficult to conceive that the Spaniards could have continued to live there.

On this occasion las Casas stayed in Spain for three weary years. Cardinal Ximenes died, and a friendly influence had to be exerted on the new King through his Flemish advisers. At length something had to be settled hurriedly, because Charles was occupied with the task of securing his election as Emperor. It was an entirely uncongenial time to las Casas ; he had the Bishop of Burgos against him, and the Hieronymites. But

now, as always, he had the support of the very highest in the land, and was treated by them with the respect that could only be given to one who was esteemed beyond the general run of men. The influence of interested parties, and some very questionable proceedings, made his persistence in fighting the battle of the Indians a burden and at times a danger to his life.

It was on this visit that the incident occurred, on which the charge has been fastened round his neck that las Casas introduced African slavery into the new world. It is worth looking into. The original authority for the accusation is a Spaniard who wrote in a history on the West Indies, in 1598, that las Casas ' asked in 1517 that the importation of African slaves might be permitted to the Spaniards settled in the Indies, in order to diminish the labours and sufferings of the Indians in the mines and on the plantations.' The responsible authority for the popular English tradition is Dr. Robertson, whose history of America states that ' he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region, and, in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier on the African.' [1]

[1] Book III. Dr. William Robertson was one of the great historians of the eighteenth century. His *History of the Reign of Charles V* was published in 1769, and his *History of America* in 1777. Much that he wrote has necessarily been superseded by later historical investigations, which he himself did much to stimulate by his scientific treatment and his pioneer work on historical generalizations. At one time his reputation was so great that his statements were accepted as final. He cannot, of course, be regarded as free from the religious prejudices of the Scottish Presbyterians and others of his time. *A view of the progress of society in Europe from the subversion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century*, which he prefixed to the history of Charles V, was a brilliant

The facts are as follows. African slaves had first been brought to Europe by the Moors; the Portuguese continued to import them, and they were bought and sold in Spain. If Spaniards were allowed to have African slaves in Europe, it would demand an altogether excessive amount of foresight to see that it was a dangerous and unjustifiable policy to allow them to have them also in the West Indies. In 1500 there was a royal ordinance permitting the importation of African slaves; but in 1503 the Governor of Hispaniola asked that no more might be sent because they ran away and corrupted the natives. The practice nevertheless continued. In 1517 las Casas acceded to the request of some of the colonists that the King be asked to consent to the importation of more Africans to replace the Indian slaves whom he was now setting free. Forty years before the Spanish historian wrote his book on the West Indies, las Casas had written in his *Historia general* that he had favoured this suggestion 'without realizing with what injustice the Portuguese captured and enslaved them,' and 'that he very shortly after repented, judging himself guilty of inadvertence; and as he said—which will be later perceived—that the captivity of the negroes was quite as unjust as that of the Indians, the remedy he had counselled, that negroes should be brought so that the Indians might be freed, was no better, even though he believed that they had been rightly procured; although he was not positive that his ignorance in this matter and his good intentions would exculpate him before the divine judge.'

essay in a new field. S. R. Maitland in *The Dark Ages* tore its generalizations to pieces. (Essays published in *The British Magazine* from 1838 onwards, and published in book form in 1844.)

In the whole history of foreign missions there is possibly not another man who more richly deserves the name of the Apostle of the Indians than this Spaniard. For half a long life he fought the battle of land appropriation three centuries before English missionaries began to be distressed about it. He pleaded before kings, cardinals, and royal councils ; he was willing for the sake of the Indians to live among his fellow countrymen, regarded by them as their enemy ; he would often have gone about in fear of his life, if he had been able to know fear ; he was habitually opposed by the more self-interested of the clergy ; and yet this man, beloved only by the Indians, and who might have enjoyed the pleasant society of Seville and of the court, or have found his delight in those intellectual pursuits for which he was well equipped, is to-day scarcely ever mentioned other than by a brief reference to him as the man who introduced slavery into America.

We are approaching the melancholy failure of las Casas in statesmanship. It is comparatively an easy thing for a strong man to fight a battle ; it requires a different and a higher heroism to make a miserable failure in well-meant constructive policy, and then to struggle on bravely for another thirty years, because he will not desert the people whom he has undertaken to protect, and for whose sake he is hated by his own nation. Las Casas' conversion was in 1514 : he retired to Spain in 1547 and continued to labour on behalf of the Indians. He died in 1566. Few missionaries can equal such a record ; fewer can claim to have been hated of all men for ' My Name's sake.' There can be very few who, at a time when all his countrymen are distrusted and detested by a native people,

can retain the confidence and devotion of them all. There was an Indian, reckoned by himself and his people to be of high rank ; he married a beautiful girl whom a Spaniard took from him. When he complained, he was flogged for his insubordination. He fled and was pursued as a rebel ; but distant tribes in almost inaccessible regions hid him and refused to surrender him ; war continued for some years between the Spaniards and this district. Later, las Casas boldly went up to him, persuaded him to acknowledge the Spanish rule, and brought him to submission and made peace between the warring elements. The man of whom this is only one story, and told to illustrate his personal influence under conditions which would make most men despair of the possibility of doing any good, is surely deserving of more considerate notice than to be remembered as though he were the inaugurator of modern slavery or a pirate.

Las Casas was worn out by the machinations of the Bishop of Burgos and a host of inferior persons interested in the wealth of Cuba. He extracted permission to establish a Spanish colony to be maintained at first by royal grants. This colony was to be a Utopia. Any man who was experienced in the affairs of the world could have told him that he was inviting disaster. The wrong type of person was chosen ; las Casas seemed to assume, in spite of bitter experience, that other men were as disinterested as himself. If there was ever the faintest hope that under his constant personal influence his scheme might have proved something less than failure, it was doomed when circumstances distracted him to other tasks. Las Casas arrived when the pearl fishers were being ruthlessly punished for not yielding results commensurate with Spanish greed. The Franciscans

had established a good mission among these people. The new emigrants were left to mingle with the fortune-seeking Spaniards, and then the pearl fishers were left to their fate, while las Casas went from the one group to the other and then hurried to Hispaniola in an attempt to put things right. What might be expected happened. His ideal colony became a thing of the past; the pearl fishers were the victims of atrocities which led to an Indian rising. For a time the dauntless heart was almost broken. The man, who had contended with considerable success against the Indian Council led by the Bishop of Burgos, and who had secured the confidence and the support of the new King, and who, on paper, had defeated all the wiles of his enemies in New Spain, had been deceived by the agent who had recruited his colonists, and had been disobeyed by the man whom he left in charge with the pearl fishers, and the land granted to him as a native reserve was ruined. Probably in the islands and on the mainland he had no friends but a handful of Dominican and Franciscan friars, a few Spaniards who were afraid to show him sympathy, and the Indians who found that their one Spanish friend was not able to protect them. Although his old friend Cardinal Adrian had now become Pope, and he could always rely on the support of the King, who was now also Emperor, las Casas does not seem to have had the heart to undertake another journey to Spain.[1]

[1] It may interest the reader to have his attention called to the situation in Europe at this date. 'Let us think of that memorable year, the year of our Lord 1521. In that year the terrible army of the Turks began to threaten central Europe. In that year a European empire first annexed a great part of the New World. In that year died Pope Leo X and with him the Papacy of the Renaissance began to descend into the

The Dominicans were his old friends ; he was acquainted with them in Spain ; in Hispaniola some of them had been alive to the evils of the *repartimientos* when he was still enjoying the benefit of his grant ; they had been his loyal friends during his struggle, whereas the Franciscans had been cooler in the cause of the Indians. Now these Dominican Fathers soothed his troubled mind, and in 1522 he became a Dominican. For the next seven years there is nothing to be said of him ; he prayed, he studied, he administered the authority of a prior. It was in 1529 that he renewed his missionary life, strengthened by his long repose, and backed up by the authority of his Order.

The years that followed were probably the most happy period of las Casas' life. He was a priest of about twenty years' standing, an influential Dominican friar laying the foundations of new priories in Mexico and along the northern coast-line of South America. He was an experienced evangelist, who knew how to win the hearts of the Indians in spite of his being a Spaniard. He wrote a little book, *De unico modo vocationis*, in which he maintained that God has only one way of conversion ; a man's intelligence must be convinced by reasoning, and his heart won by kindness. His great endeavour at this time was to prevent in Peru a repetition of what had happened in the islands and in Mexico.

He was living at Guatemala, and was challenged to put his theories into practice. The man, who had once gone at the risk of his life to an Indian chief who for fourteen years had defied Spanish authority, and who had won his confidence and

grave. And in 1521 Martin Luther was finally excommunicated, and Ignatius de Loyola was converted ' (Pullan's *Religion since the Reformation*).

brought him to Hispaniola as a loyal friend of Spain, was the last man to fear such a test as the Spaniards now demanded. He selected for his experiment a mountainous district known as ' The land of war,' which had not yet been brought under Spanish control. He adopted a means, which may be despised as unscientific, or even be put aside as unworthy. But he knew the Indians, and he knew only too well their fear of Spain. He got together four Indian Christians, and taught them an elementary outline of the faith in rhymed couplets, which they were trained to sing to the accompaniment of weird musical instruments ; and, thus provided, he sent them as traders into the mountains, after having secured that for five years he was to be undisturbed in his work.

The simple method proved a success ; the people's interest and curiosity were aroused ; the Christian traders explained the real purpose of their undertaking ; a devoted Dominican, Fra Luis Cancer, responded to the invitation for further instruction, and was well received. He showed the deed of protection which las Casas had obtained, and it doubtless was a strong incentive to the Indians. What followed is a mere repetition of the history of many a conversion of some district in England or in Europe in earlier centuries. The chief destroyed his idols and began to preach the new religion : Luis Cancer was free to go to other districts, where he was also well received ; las Casas joined him in the work. There were places where the Spanish missionaries were received with Epicurean glances, and it was thought that with a flavouring of Chili sauce they would taste well, as the first Spanish biographer of las Casas has written. The mission to ' The land of war ' was permanently established, and Franciscans and

Dominicans were supplied. Some even of the more ferocious Spanish governors now began to understand that this method of handling the Indians was not madness.

In 1537 Pope Paul III issued a bull, *Sublimis Deus*. When we consider the date of it, and that we have to wait about three centuries for any similar expressions of Christian conviction from the English Church, there is every reason for quoting somewhat freely from it.

> The sublime God so loved the human race that He created man in such wise that he might participate, not only in the good that other creatures enjoy, but endowed him with capacity to attain to the inaccessible and invisible Supreme Good and behold it face to face. . . . Christ, Who is the Truth itself, that has never failed and can never fail, said to the preachers of the faith whom He chose for that office, 'Go ye and teach all nations.' He said, All, without exception, for all are capable of receiving the doctrines of the faith. The enemy of the human race . . . inspired his satellites who, to please him, have not hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and of the South, and other people of whom we have recent knowledge, should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith. We, who though unworthy, exercise on earth the power of our Lord, and seek with all our might to bring those sheep of His flock who are outside into the fold committed to our charge, consider, however, that the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith, but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it. Desiring to provide ample remedy for these evils we define and declare that the said Indians, and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ. . . . Given in Rome in the year of our Lord, 1537. The fourth of June, and of our Pontificate the third year.

We shall not understand the Spaniard in South America if we suppose that this bull was received with other than the deepest respect. He was a

devout Catholic, ready to rise up in revolt against the priests if they refused him absolution before Easter. He had no thought of dissociating himself from the practice of religion. But we shall understand him no better if we suppose that he had any intention to change his conduct. The Pope meant well; it was that madman las Casas who was the source of all this nonsense. We may doubt whether las Casas was wise in his dealings with the Spaniards; it cannot have been easy to act in the double capacity of Protector of the Indies and a spiritual father to the Spanish colonists. Possibly S. Francis Xavier could have combined the two missions. It seems to us that las Casas laid too much stress on edicts, on royal warrants and papal bulls; and he was not a conciliatory man. He was fiery, and his tongue could cut like a razor. The Spaniards were not spiritually neglected; they had churches and priests, and one would like to know how these shepherds shepherded such a flock. It is reasonable to suppose that las Casas felt it his duty to acquaint the Governors with the bull; it is perhaps not uncharitable to assume that the priests for the most part satisfied their consciences by the conviction that they could not do more than they were doing.

The Indian missions were flourishing, and the Bishop of Guatemala sent las Casas to the old country in 1538 for fresh supplies of workers. A better condition of things existed in the Indian Council since the death of the former Bishop of Burgos. More friars were sent, and fresh edicts were prepared under the advice of las Casas. In 1542 Charles V published his new regulations for the government of his distant colonies. Las Casas refused a bishopric, but afterwards let himself be persuaded against his wishes and better judgement

into accepting the Diocese of Chiapa, the poorest diocese in the New World, but possessing the attraction of being near to his most successful mission. It is easy to see that he should have continued to refuse a bishopric. The masterful disposition, which was his by nature, was not softened by his many conflicts, or become more tender to the Spaniards because of his gentleness with the Indians. He was not likely, when armed with the spiritual weapons of the episcopal office, to neglect the gift that had been given to him by laying on of hands. He was consecrated in 1544, and promptly exerted himself on behalf of the Indian slaves in Spain, who had been sent over as punishment for offences.

His reception in Hispaniola on his return was pitiable. It was indeed such that, when he would have left the protection of the Dominicans to save them from being troubled on his behalf, the Franciscans dared not receive him. But his presence stirred the zeal of the friars which had waxed cold under the continual fear of disturbance; the Dominicans were threatened, and the Franciscans saved them from starvation; boycotting seems to have been well understood long before the days of the nineteenth-century captain of that name. A Spanish widow, reputed to be the richest person on the island, was moved by compunction to free her slaves and to make over her possessions to the Dominicans.

There were two chief towns in the Bishop's diocese, Chiapa and Cuidad Real; of the five priests in the latter city, there were only two who bore a good name. The Bishop evidently resolved to act with discretion, and to show something of that gentleness which he generally reserved for the Indians. He was now seventy years old, but

neither his bodily health nor his fervent disposition was enfeebled. He observed the Dominican rule strictly, but he tolerated others eating meat. The slack priests fled from the example of the Bishop's severe diet and austere ruling ; but still the good resolution of patience was being kept. When it came near to Easter the uneasy truce was broken ; the Bishop, who as a young layman had been refused absolution because of his Indian slaves, could not relax the law of God. He granted faculties for hearing confessions to only two of his clergy, and to them he gave rigid instructions. Even their obedient hearts quailed before the rising storm of indignation ; the children were taught to sing scurrilous couplets in the hearing of the Bishop, and the Dominicans were starved. This was in 1545.

Physical dangers had no terror for las Casas ; and his moral courage did not waver. But he saw the hopelessness of the situation, and determined to resign. He became overstrained ; and on his journey through Mexico he alienated everybody by his rigour. It is easy, when we think of some of our own native problems in missionary dioceses, to say,' Would that we had bishops like the saintly las Casas,' or to condemn him and point to the statesmanship of our modern bishops. Actually there is no comparison between the situations. If a bishop to-day is moved to anger by some unjust condition, and defends the case of the native population, he knows that he has the best opinion more or less on his side, and a government behind him that can be approached. His white people can be influenced and persuaded, and a conciliatory tone will do more good than will be done by raising racial animosities and so bringing graver trouble upon the natives. Something in the nature of a com-

promise can be sought, and time is on the side of improved relations. But ' everywhere throughout the province of Chiapa the heart of las Casas was wrung by a repetition of the same tales of violence and rapacity ; women stolen, property wrested from the defenceless Indians, and the people bought and sold like cattle, to be mercilessly overworked until more merciful death released them from bondage.' [1]

Let us take a last glance at the aged Bishop on his farewell visits. He has gone to take leave of ' The land of war.' On this Indian reserve he finds the savage idolaters of a few years ago become peaceful and civilized Christians, living in towns. He delivers to them the royal edicts confirming them in perpetual exemption from every sort of servitude. He is received everywhere with enthusiasm. Then there is another picture, not in ' The land of war ' ; he is come into Nicaragua, and the fires of opposition are blazing up afresh. It is an official assembly ; cries are raised, ' Out with that lunatic.' The president is obstinate and violent, and bursts out, ' You are a cheat, a bad man, a bad bishop, a shameful fellow, and you deserve to be punished.' ' I well merit all you say,' is the Bishop's answer, for he had obtained the presidency for this man at his earnest solicitation.

In 1547 [2] the retired Bishop reached Spain, and took up his residence mostly at the Dominican house in Valladolid, because the Indian Council generally met there, and he could still work for the people. He spent a great deal of his time in literary work, and when he was ninety he wrote his treatise in defence of the Peruvians, in the convent of our Lady of Atocha just outside Madrid. It was a

[1] F. A. MacNutt.

[2] It is the year in which the author of Don Quixote was born.

somewhat different Spain from that which he looked out upon with the eyes of a young and ardent boy, as he had strutted about with his Indian slave. Ferdinand and Isabella had given place to Philip II; the Protestants had been substituted for the Moors as the object of fanatical religious zeal and hatred: trouble was brewing in the Netherlands; and Spain was at the height of a religious revival which was marked by the growth of spiritual mysticism. S. Peter of Alcántara, S. Theresa, Blessed John of Avila, S. John of the Cross, Luis Ponce de Léon, and Alphonso de Rodriguez were all living during las Casas' retirement. S. Ignatius and S. Francis Xavier were Basques rather than Spaniards, but S. Francis Borgia, third General of the Society of Jesus, was a Spanish nobleman.

The great leaders of the Reformation were dead: the Wars of Religion were just beginning in France; in England Elizabeth was as yet not too secure upon her throne, and Hawkins was beginning his prosperous trade of conveying African slaves to the New World. The Council of Trent had ended its labours.

In 1566 Bartolomé de las Casas died. During the last weeks of his life he wrote, 'I believe that because of these impious and ignominious acts, perpetrated unjustly, tyrannously, and barbarously upon them (i.e. the Indians), God will visit His wrath and ire upon Spain for her share, great or small, in the blood-stained riches, obtained by theft and usurpation, accompanied by such slaughter and annihilation of these people, unless she does much penance.' In his will, by which he bequeathed his literary remains and his vast missionary correspondence to the College of S. Gregory in Valladolid, he wrote, 'Let them be placed in

the College library *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; for should God decree the destruction of Spain, it may be seen that it is because of our destruction of the Indies, and His justice may be made apparent.'

CHAPTER II

JUAN FERNANDEZ

BERNARD-Thaddée Petitjean, the son of a carpenter of Blanzy, a well-known mining centre, entered the seminary of the Missions Étrangères in 1859, six years after his ordination to the priesthood, and arrived in Japan in the autumn of the next year. Six years later he was consecrated Bishop of Myriophite *in partibus infidelium*, in the Roman parish church of Hong Kong. He died at Nagasaki in Japan in 1884 at fifty years of age. A good priest, a good missionary, a good bishop, he might nevertheless never have been heard of beyond the boundaries of his mission and of his Society, but for one thing.

There had been a rumour that Christians were still to be found in Japan. In 1838 a French Lazarist had written in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* that ' everything seemed to indicate that God had preserved some worshippers, in secret, in Japan.' The Vicar-Apostolic of Corea had confirmed this rumour soon afterwards. In 1849 the *Annales* stated that in 1820 some Japanese had come to Batavia to buy theological books and a Catholic liturgy, and that the reports made by Coreans who visited the coasts of Japan must be believed.

On Friday, March 17, 1865, M. Petitjean was in the little chapel that he had built in Nagasaki. What happened must be told in his own words.

'About half past twelve yesterday, a group of twelve or fifteen persons, men, women, and children, was standing at the entrance of the Church of the Twenty-six Martyrs, with evident signs of something beyond mere curiosity. The door of the church was closed; impelled doubtless by my good angel, I hastened to open it, and, as I advanced towards the sanctuary, I was followed by these visitors; with all my heart I called for the blessing of the divine Master upon them, Whom for the last month we have reserved in the holy tabernacle under the Eucharistic species. Genuflecting in the presence of the good Saviour, I adored Him, and implored Him to put upon my lips some suitable words to touch the hearts and to win worshippers from those who were around me.' But almost before one could say a *Pater*, three women of fifty or sixty years of age advanced from the group, and fell on their knees at the feet of the missionary, and one of them said, 'The hearts of all of us here are as your heart.' 'Indeed! But from where do you come?' 'We are all from Urakami. At Urakami nearly all have the same heart that we have.' And immediately afterwards she said, *Sancta Maria, no gozowa doko?* (Where is the image of S. Mary?)

'At this holy name of *Sancta Maria*, I had no longer any doubt that I was in the presence of the children of the old Christians of Japan.' Petitjean led them to the altar of the Holy Virgin, and, following his example, they all knelt and began to pray; but overcome by joy they cried out, 'Yes, this is indeed *Sancta Maria*! See, on her arm *On ko Jesu Sama*, her august Son, Jesus.'[1]

What sort of evangelization had Japan received

[1] Mgr. Petitjean et la Résurrection Catholique du Japon au XIX[e] siècle, par J.-B. Chaillet.

between the years 1549 and 1638, ending in the supposed extermination of all the Christians, that after so long a period it could yet show signs of existence ? Generation after generation had come and gone, and the public notice was still placarded up that ' the evil sect of Christianity ' was forbidden. Without priests, and with the Sacrament of Baptism alone possible to be administered, the faith, secretly nourished and passed on, still lingered combined with some irregularities of doctrine and practice. When Pio Nono heard of this resuscitation he was so moved that he instituted the festival of ' The finding of the Christians,' to be observed in Japan on March 17th.

An initial difficulty in telling this story is the uncertainty whom to select that round his life-history the main facts may be told and the one serious criticism of the mission discussed. When the story of China comes to be narrated, there is no doubt whose name is to be chosen ; there is one man who is responsible for the policy which subsequently developed into the grave mistake in its evangelization. When India is the subject there is again no hesitation ; one man stands out as having decided the main feature of the Jesuit missions of Southern India. But it is significant that one cannot place one's finger on any either of the first or of later missionaries to Japan, and say that this man, devoted as were his services, much as he endured, settled the policy of combining the offer of the Gospel with that of the material prosperity of Japan through Portuguese commerce. Yet the time was to come when in the minds of the guiding authorities of the national life of Japan it would be a vital conflict in statesmanship whether to endure the advance of Christianity for the sake of preserving trade, or to sacrifice the foreign com-

merce in order to rid the country of the foreign religion which was regarded as a solvent of national character.

This difficulty in choosing the right missionary should help us to look at the criticism of the Jesuits in Japan with at least a suspicion that it may have been incorrectly framed. No one denies that the foundations of the Church were deeply laid in martyrdom, or indeed that the Church was all but wiped out. The heroic, the almost fool-hardy, recklessness of the later missionaries always comes in for its meed of praise from those who, while trying to do justice to what is conceived to be praiseworthy, are nevertheless set upon criticizing the weak spot. It is possible that the obsession that a Roman Catholic or a Jesuit mission must somewhere be tainted with inferior motives has dulled the critical faculties. We offer the suggestion that our difficulty in finding the right name for this chapter points to the conclusion that circumstances, partly the general conditions of Europe, and more especially the Japanese desire to encourage European commerce, and not the missionaries, were responsible for the confusion between the Gospel and mammon.

It may be admitted frankly, and thereby any undue criticism of the critics be avoided, that what did happen is not easily grasped by us to-day. We think of a powerful nation forcing its commerce upon a reluctant Japan, and using its missionaries as an advance guard, because we are aware of a nineteenth-century insistence upon putting a stop to Chinese and Japanese exclusiveness, and because we know that the moment a door was open the missionaries entered. They did not indeed enter as the pioneers of commerce, and happily, however much they may have been suspect as foreigners,

neither they nor their governments would have tolerated any partnership between them and either politics or trade. Indeed modern commerce rather dislikes the missionary, even if it follows in his train. What is difficult of realization to-day is that the Portuguese of the sixteenth century were differently minded. They were not disposed to acquiesce in any suggestion that the Japanese authorities would be glad enough to see their ships and receive their goods, if they would be so obliging as to avoid bringing any missionaries. They did not see why they should not bring missionaries. They were Catholics themselves, and they were certain that the Gospel ought to be preached. Moreover, the Pope had made it a condition of the exclusive rights of Portugal over this part of the world that the country should undertake its evangelization.

It is worth a moment's consideration to imagine a Jesuit father trying to think out this perplexing problem. We may suppose that he is saying to himself that it is unfortunate that the Japanese think of us as a link between themselves and the Portuguese ships ; it damages the full force of the Gospel. May not some of the rulers be tolerating us or even be inclining towards the Christian religion, because they are thinking of material gains ? S. Paul could write that godliness with contentment is great gain, but he certainly would not have written, Become Christians and you will become rich. Cannot my brethren and I break through this unhappy partnership, which we do nothing to encourage ? But we can only get into Japan in a Portuguese ship, and that ship is a trader. If we who are here refuse to receive any more missionaries on account of this unhappy connection, can we break it down ? Just conceivably we

might do so in course of time, if we went to the extreme length of declaring that we had ceased all connection with home, and refused even to be thought of as Portuguese. But, doubtful as the result would be, two more immediate results are not in any doubt. We could get no reinforcements, and ourselves would be dead before the Japanese would have ceased to think of us as representatives of Portugal ; and what should we do for supplies ? We are dependent on Portuguese ships for books, and some of our clothing, and for medicine and sacramental wine, and certain rather necessary eatables.

Possibly now the twentieth-century Englishman may be able to realize that it was as difficult for these missionaries to destroy their nationality, as it is for an English missionary in India to avoid to-day being regarded as one of the dominant race that is keeping India under its feet. If any one suggest that this is an exaggerated expression, and that only violent nationalists can think in such a way, it is not an unfair parallel to offer that the Japanese in their deep suspicion of foreigners were themselves violent nationalists.

It does not seem reasonable to require that the Jesuits should have argued that they were disqualified for the work of evangelization because they went out under the misleading condition of being Portuguese, or of having sailed from a Portuguese port in a Portuguese ship. It is not, so far as we know, generally argued that the British are disqualified as a nation for missionary service because wherever they go they are thought of as the people who have an unpleasant way of painting the corners of the world red. As a matter of fact Francis Xavier did not go to Japan because he foresaw that the Gospel would be tolerated for

the sake of Portuguese commerce ; he went there because he was disappointed with India and heard that the Japanese would make good Christians. The troublesome relation between missionaries and trade increased as time went on ; it is therefore better to frame a question out of these later times. Now it so happens that these were the times of persecution. Can any one point to a Jesuit missionary who sought to escape prison or torture or martyrdom by threatening the displeasure of Portugal and the cessation of commerce? It looks, therefore, as if those who made this confusion between the Gospel and commerce were not the Jesuits but the Japanese rulers.

The reader may expect that S. Francis Xavier will make the story of this chapter. He was the leader by more than head and shoulders of the first band of evangelists ; he is by the world's consent a saint. But there are considerations that have led to the rejection of his name. He only spent twenty-seven months in the country ; he had already turned his back on Japan before his death, and to tell of his life in Japan rather than to associate him with India is misleading. Similar objections surround the name of another Jesuit, who is possibly even unknown to most Englishmen. Valignani is perhaps the greatest Jesuit missionary in the East after Francis ; but he neither represents the first introduction of the Gospel nor the last stages of these ninety years ; and his proper place, like Xavier's, is in the Jesuit missions to the East generally.

We have chosen, therefore, a layman, one who was always modestly in the background ; but he was one of Xavier's earliest companions, he lived nearly twenty years in the country, and the priest who saw most of him wrote that very little would

have been accomplished without him. He was, moreover, a singularly interesting and attractive man, although material for any full description of him is deficient. He died before the practice of annual letters from Japan to the Society was begun ; and his work of preaching, interpreting, and translating did not give rise to special correspondence.

The ancient city of Cordova on the Guadalquivir can boast of a history venerable with Moorish associations and architectural treasures. Its most magnificent days were over long before it had passed into the hands of the Christians in 1236, since which time it continued to decay. Here, in the year 1525, there was born to Fernandez, a prosperous silk merchant, a boy who received the baptismal name of Juan or John. In later years, when closely associated with Portugal, he was often known as João or Joam. If Fernandez troubled himself about politics otherwise than as they were likely to affect his merchandise or taxation, he would be concerned only that his King, Charles V, should interest himself so little in the country other than to obtain resources from it for his imperial tasks. As a layman he probably thought very little about the affairs of Germany and a certain Luther of whom ecclesiastical conversation was generally abusive. He would be content to perform his religious duties as became a good Catholic, and to see that little Juan received proper instruction. The young boy had the narrow and crooked streets to play in, or he could sit by the river and watch what was going on. When it was hot, or when he was so disposed, there was always the glorious Court of Oranges with its fountains and trees, where he could rest, and unconsciously be influenced by the sombre and almost

prison-like Mezquita, the walls of which formed its eastern side. At some big festival he would enter, and not fail to be impressed by the solemnity of its maze of columns and arches. He knew that this glory of the Moors was now the bishop's church, and he may have been told that when he was a little baby, only about a year old, the magnificent Emperor had come to see the changes that were being made in order to produce a more conventional cathedral in the middle of the enormous mosque. He may even have been told that Charles V had said, ' You have built what you or others might have built anywhere, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world.'

Blissfully ignorant, as are most boys, of what the future held in store for him, he must be supposed to have passed the happy childhood and school-days of any well-to-do Spaniard. There was no need for him to consider that money had to be earned, until the time came for learning his father's business. He certainly knew nothing of what it might be to have to do without money and what it buys. When he approached manhood one thinks of him as somewhat resembling a certain Francis, the son of another merchant, Bernadone by name, who more than three hundred years ago, before Cordova was a Christian city, had grown up in the smaller world of Assisi. Very possibly the young gallant of Cordova heard his name invoked from time to time without paying much attention to it ; and what he associated with the name was not the story of S. Francis' conversion, with any thought whether he should follow in his steps, but the Franciscan friars and preachers whom he saw and heard, and accepted as everybody accepts what he has been accustomed to all his life. The real occupation of his life was to gain an understanding of

business ways, how to deal with merchants and shop-keepers and with bankers, how to distinguish between the qualities of silks and to test their value. Perhaps even the more real concern of his life was the occupation of his spare time, the companionship of other fortunately placed young men, and the social gossip of Cordova.

When he was twenty-two he was sent on business to Lisbon, the capital of a country not less devotedly Catholic than Spain. Ecclesiastical news was in his days a large part of general conversation, and it is probable that he had already heard something of Ignatius Loyola, and the Company of Jesus. He had various things to do in Lisbon, business required his attention, some social courtesies were part of his duty, merchants to be spoken to with the respect of a young man for his seniors, and who were ready to entertain him as his father's son. But he was not the normal youth that everything about him suggests, if he were not enjoying the freedom of a holiday 'on his own,' and his first experience of seeing the world. Merchants in Lisbon as in Cordova might have sons of about twenty years of age, and it was very pleasant to share in their recreations and to be shown the sights of the Portuguese capital.

It was in May or early in June, and the streets or the port would be very pleasant in the cool of the evening. The last thing that one would expect was that Juan should spend one of his evenings in a crowded room to hear one of these Jesuits conduct a religious service with a number of devout men. The novelty of it may have struck him, or he may have been fond of music and been attracted by the remark that the singing was good. Possibly the mere fact that another young man, one of his new acquaintances, was full of talk about these gather-

ings most naturally accounts for his appearance as a stranger at what was meant for the people of Lisbon. The occasion was certainly of a sufficiently striking character to arrest his attention when once he was there ; it must have been as novel and as impressive as one of Moody and Sankey's early meetings in London. About two hundred young men were there under the spell of a revival. The 'after meeting,' if it may be so called, was strangely different from the modern English form ; for when the devotional exercises, the singing, and the telling appeal were over, the lights were turned out and the audience, strangely moved, used the discipline.

Juan's mind was determined : he must become a Jesuit forthwith. One must often have noticed that in former centuries men do not seem to have been so reluctant, as we now are, to act upon the enthusiasm of impulse. Anybody to-day would tell Juan not to be in a hurry, to think about it and to pray about it. We should probably chill his newly kindled enthusiasm, to say nothing of his warmly tingling back. The sagacious and cautious Father Rodriguez knew better than that ; but he doubted his youth, and thought that the excitement would probably not stand any test. Here was one on whom life smiled, a young man who enjoyed finery ; he would probably fall away under a severe regimen which would continually offend his pride of wealth. But the good Father knew of One Who had looked on a rich young man and had loved him, and he decided to make trial of Juan. Instead, therefore, of damping his ardour he provided him with a preliminary task, which would be at the same time a test of his prompt obedience and of his readiness to endure the severe trial of being laughed at. Let him ride down the

main street of Lisbon in the face of all the city and in his smart clothes, but seated facing the tail of the donkey. The test was trying enough to a young man's vanity, but it was not so preposterous as it would be to-day. Men would laugh sometimes at him, sometimes merely at the humour of it ; many would probably think that he was a young blood doing it for a wager. He certainly would look a fool ; but there is a folly of which men were then able to appreciate the point, who had still some conception of what it was to be a fool for Christ's sake. S. Francis had frequently been just as foolish with a joyous holy folly, and had encouraged his little brothers in like folly.

This was Juan's modern version of Francis in rags being pelted with mud. His enthusiasm, impulsiveness, the cocksureness of youth in what he had decided upon within the last minute, carried him through. Nothing remained but that he should be received. What his father thought of it we do not know, or whether Juan returned home to say good-bye. He was soon shipped off to India, where Francis Xavier was asking for recruits, and the vessel, under the command of Juan de Mendoza, arrived on the third of September, 1548.

We, who know his history, need no assurance that Brother Juan was a man after Francis's own heart. The early Jesuits were very human and had about them something of the gay spirits of the first Franciscans. There is a delightful story, so dear to those who use the Ignatian exercises, how the great founder of the Jesuits sang the old Basque songs and danced about his cell to relax a novice who was suffering from excessive depression of spirits. And did not Francis himself, on his wearisome voyage, when his heart went out to the black-

guard sailors, so dangerously forgetful of God when they were as likely as not never to see land again, join himself to their company and gamble with them, content, if he could do nothing more for their souls, that he had restrained their blasphemies for a time? The Jesuits were not yet hardened into the respectability of demeanour which befits, or is supposed to befit, the conventional character of a community which has to live up to its reputation. There is often in the early days of new movements a certain light-heartedness and high-spirited recklessness, such as goes well with a daring venture. When men have staked their lives on what may be a failure, but which they mean to be a glorious success, they can afford to be gay. We remember remarking to a provincial superior overseas upon the cheery behaviour of a certain middle-aged lay brother of a community which is regarded as in every respect sober. He had been chaffing and 'pulling the leg' of the young business men who were in the habit of calling at the Fathers' house. 'Don't you know,' was the answer, 'that Brother X is one of Father ——'s early novices?' mentioning the name of the revered founder of the community. One imagines that Brother Juan and Father Francis took to one another, and that they had some good laughs over the story of the donkey ride in Lisbon.

One of Father Rodriguez's doubts about Juan had been that, as he had only had the general education that sufficed for business life, he would not be suited to the priesthood, and might break down under the position of a lay-brother and the monotony of his life. It is said that Father Francis proposed the priesthood to him, and that he shrank from it in a spirit of humility. We must imagine that everything was going well, for while on

January 14, 1549, Father Francis wrote home to his Superior that he was planning to go to Japan and that the only European whom he proposed to take was Father Cosmo Torres, yet when he did actually make his start from Malacca in a Chinese junk on the feast of S. John Baptist that same year Brother Juan was with him as well as the priest. But when the letter was written Juan had only been with him four months ; when they started together for Japan Father Francis had known him nearly eleven months.

Here we will leave Brother Juan for a time, and will turn to other things, giving him the interval in which to get accustomed to Oriental life in its various aspects, its climate, its diet, the ways of the people, the conduct of the Europeans. He has begun to show a certain facility in picking up languages, and he has perhaps been studying Japanese with one of the Christian interpreters. More especially he has been growing familiar with the Ignatian rule, accustoming himself to hard life in an Eastern land, and without any doubt he has been studying the image of Jesus Christ in the person of Father Francis Xavier, with his transparent love of souls and his humble spirit.

At the end of the thirteenth century Marco Polo had written of an island in the Eastern ocean called Zipanga. About two hundred years later the Milanese envoy in London had referred to Cipango as an island situated in the equinoctial region. The last syllable nearly succeeds in disguising the familiar word ' Japan ' by the addition of the Chinese equivalent to ' Kingdom.' For some time after this Japan's communications with the outside world were confined to the companion Mongol kingdoms of China and Corea, with which

countries Europe had some slight and inaccurate acquaintance through merchant travellers.[1] We must rely upon modern investigators, and not on contemporary records, for any detailed picture of the condition of the country. A summary account of the situation is that it was ' mostly a weltering chaos of warring feudal atoms.' [2] The Emperor was a shadow ; the Shogun, or chief minister, wielded whatever power remained to a central authority. The provincial system of administration had broken down, and England under Stephen or France under the early Capots is the comparison that has been made by competent authority. Then in 1542—that is probably the date—the first Europeans set foot in the country. A shipwreck on the coast had appealed both to the curiosity and the courtesy of the Island people. The Japanese were attracted by the sight of European firearms, and the Portuguese woke up to the prospect of increasing their trade in the Far East. They had no reason to be apprehensive of any competition, and their monopoly was not threatened until the Spaniards founded Manila in 1571, which within a quarter of a century was to become a rival to Macao.

The chief political power of Japan was in the hands of the Buddhist priesthood, and the Jesuits were soon to begin writing about these bonzes as their bitter enemies and the chief disputants in controversy. The more aristocratic, because the older, faith was that of Shintoism, and to it adhered more or less informally two of the three great

[1] See *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, edited by Manuel Komroff. (Jonathan Cape, 1928.) Friar William of Rubruck, a Franciscan who died in 1270, visited China. He makes mention of Japan under the name Zampa.

[2] Murdoch's *History of Japan*. 3 vols., 1925. Reference may be made to this authority for other statements.

builders of the Japan which was just about to take the form which it retained until recent times. If these two were only indifferently supporters of the Shinto faith, until the second of them became somewhat more devout towards the end of his life, when his thoughts turned towards crowning his successes with the coping stone of deification, they were alike jealous of the power exercised by the bonzes over the mass of the people. If the Jesuits had an additional reason for detesting the bonzes because of their abominable sodomy, Jesuit and vice-Shogun would have a certain bond of friendliness. Buddhist monastic establishments abounded, and in some parts of the country there were large groups of monastic establishments, which were capable of being a source of danger to the state. The third of this great trio of state builders was a strong supporter of the Buddhists, and he lived at the time when national life was finally consolidated, and when suspicion of the Europeans made a united Japan under Buddhist support a matter of statesmanship.

Rigid class distinctions did not exist to the extent of forming anything like a caste system. Rulers over a larger or smaller territory, according as they could extend their borders or had to make some surrender to more powerful neighbours, were somewhat like the feudal lords in the exercise of authority over their fiefs. The Jesuit correspondence refers to these people as kings or princes according to the extent of their domain and the number of their vassal rulers. The more correct name for such a ruler was ' daimyo.' The warrior class, known as the Sumarai, was not separated by any impassable barrier from the merchants or the farmers. It was possible even for a prosperous artisan to mix with those of a higher social class.

The three master-builders, to whom reference has been made, illustrate this social flexibility. The first of them was a petty chieftain who for the most part of his life was looked upon as a filibuster; he was actually almost a magnificent savage. The second was a peasant who was also a genius; and the third began life as a sub-feudatory of a defeated daimyo.

We return now to Francis Xavier and his companions. One of the apparently trifling results of the beginnings of the Portuguese trade was that a certain Japanese, named Anjiro, had sought the foreigner's aid. The later, perhaps the pious, interpretation of this appeal was that his soul was troubled and that he turned to the Portuguese for advice about the way to obtain pardon for his sins. The story is not in itself impossible, or perhaps even improbable; it only requires a godly Portuguese, and another inquiry to have gone forth, 'Sirs, what must I do to be saved?' But there happens to be a second version which tells us that the impelling motive was the desire to escape from some enemies. Whichever it was, here was a right thinking Portuguese, alive to the possibilities of good results if Anjiro were handed over to Father Francis at Malacca. From there the young convert was sent to Goa as the first-fruits of Japan. He became a good Portuguese scholar, and a tutor of future missionaries, trying his prentice hand on so apt a pupil as Brother Juan. He was useful also in introducing the first band of missionaries to his own home, which was in the district of Satsuma on the island of Kyushu.

In January, 1548, Father Francis had written to King João of Portugal, 'I have not yet, Sire, fully made up my mind whether I shall go to

Japan ; but a great motive for my inclining to the plan of going to that country is added by this fact, that I am very much without hope here in India of that true and efficient support from the officials which is necessary in order to increase our holy faith and to preserve the Christians already made.' About the same time he was writing home that ' all the Portuguese merchants who have been to Japan tell me that if I go there more will be done there for the service of the Lord than among the gentiles of India, the Japanese being a people of great sense.' It would seem that at this date the Portuguese merchants were men of character. Unfortunately before Japan shut its doors to Europeans they had become a scandal in the ports.

In January, 1549, Father Francis wrote to Ignatius Loyola that he hoped to start for Japan in April, and that his plan was to see the Emperor and to concentrate on the universities. He did not yet know Japan, and he never succeeded in seeing the almost inaccessible Mikado, nor was he able to concentrate on the universities. On the Feast of Corpus Christi he wrote from Manila that he had been told that the Japanese were asking for Christian priests. On the Feast of the Assumption that same year, with three Japanese Christians, one of whom was Anjiro (' Paul of the holy faith,' as he was now called), a Chinese Christian and Father Torres and Brother Juan, he reached Kagoshima (or Cagoxima, as it was spelt in contemporary correspondence) in Satsuma, and Paul's family became the first converts of the new venture.

By November 5th he was writing, ' What I would wish to sink deep into your hearts and always to remain is this, that a ready and entire will to practise humility and lowliness, a will by

which you devote yourself and your life to the glory of God, is a sacrifice more pleasing and acceptable to Him than even a great number of very important services rendered without a will of that kind.'[1] In this same letter he writes that he has more fear of distrust in God than of anything that the enemy can do. 'This plague of timidity makes many men, who have begun to serve God, lead a sad and anxious life, in that they bear the sweet yoke and Cross of Christ, yet do not advance bravely and constantly.' But even weaker than the timid are the presumptuous, and 'they do not acknowledge their own weakness, and thus they consider the Cross of Christ too heavy to be borne.' We offer the suggestion, knowing that Father Francis had anxiety about the government of the Society in Goa, that he was mentally contrasting certain dispositions that he had seen there with the cheerful and equable humility of Brother Juan.

When they had been about a year in the province of Satsuma, an edict was put forth by local authority at the instigation of the bonzes against these new teachers. So they moved to Hirado in the northern part of the island of Kyushu, where the Portuguese seamen had found a better sheltered port. Ultimately they moved again, and made a port for themselves at Nagasaki, some fifty odd miles further south than Hirado. Paul had been left behind at Kagoshima, but the three Europeans and the two other Japanese Christians had trudged up to Hirado. From here Francis reported that Brother Juan was converting people by his preaching. 'He already speaks the language passably well.' The prospect was again

[1] For S. Francis Xavier see his life and letters, by Father H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 2 vols., 1902.

bright, and, leaving Father Torres behind, Xavier and Fernandez passed on to Yamaguchi on the mainland, which was together with Hirado to share most of Fernandez's work.

Francis was still set on getting to Tokyo to see the Emperor, and this winter (1550–51) he started off on his journeys. There was heavy snow, and he and Juan were of course on foot. Courteous as might be the Japanese nation, no country is without its yokels and its rough boys who delight to throw stones and to shout insulting remarks to strangers. We remember to have seen a cartoon in *Punch*, showing two labourers leaning against a bridge or wall, looking at an English stranger who was walking down the road. 'I say, Bill, 'ere 's a stranger. Just 'eave half a brick at 'im.' That may be merely an unpleasant incident in England, where one does not care to feel oneself a foreigner ; but it was more likely to be dangerous in Japan, where foreigners were unknown animals, and where there was not a local police force. Brother Juan has recorded that at times he expected to see the flashing of swords, and that Francis's head and his would be rolling in the dust.

The journey, as well as being difficult and hazardous, proved also fruitless. They came back by sea from Osaka, and so to Yamaguchi. In September of this year (1551) a courteous invitation reached Francis from the daimyo of Bungo, another province of Kyushu. He was a young man who was bitten by the novelty of contact with the Europeans, and who possibly had visions of profit by encouraging them. Bungo at one time proved a very fruitful field of evangelization ; but Francis had departed before then. In the November of this same year he had returned to Goa on business of the Society, and to secure reinforce-

ments for the extension of this promising and new work. He had already called Father Torres to Yamaguchi to help Brother Juan, when he himself was setting out for Bungo. S. Francis did not set foot again in Japan, and his heart was already going out towards China. He was happy as he thought of Father Torres and Brother Juan, who were now settled in an empty bonzery which had been made over to them.

From now and onwards Brother Juan Fernandez was appreciated by others than Father Francis. We do not hear what he thought either about what many would call Francis's desertion, or about his own feelings. These missionaries do not seem to have bothered much about their feelings. But no one can doubt that the withdrawal of Father Francis was a personal grief to Fernandez, whom we may safely suspect of having already canonized him in his heart. He wrote to him when he was in Bungo, in the month of October, giving him an account of some local disturbances. 'A war broke out in the city, which was brought to an end by the death of the King (i.e. the local daimyo committed hara-kari), so destructive and deadly that the town was on fire and overflowed with blood for the space of eight days; for with the laws in abeyance, victorious wickedness raged everywhere with impunity. Murder and plunder in all directions, and during the whole time diligent inquiry was made for us with a view to slay us, partly by those who hated us, partly by those who coveted our poor baggage. Thus we were often in great danger of our lives; but the merciful Mother of our Lord, Who protects her servants with special care, snatched us out of all our perils.' [1]

There is something attractive about this lay-

[1] Vol. vii of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

man's letter, written with the enthusiasm of a youth of twenty-six, after his first great excitement and danger, to the Father who had only just gone away, and was expected to come back. It is like the letter that is sent to a guest who has only just left, to tell him what he has missed; one can almost fancy that he was saying to himself, 'I know that he will be interested to hear this.' If the letter shows signs of his excitement, and is not a classical production, we must remember that Brother Juan did not pretend to be a great scholar and certainly would not aim at a finished production in writing to his Father. But whatever had happened, and might easily happen again, the steady work of evangelization was renewed, and under promising conditions. The new ruler was a brother of the daimyo of Bungo, and they were both well disposed to the missionaries.

Juan's fluent tongue was put to good use. He acted as interpreter to Father Torres, and he translated sermons and papers of religious instruction; he took a chief part in public disputes with the bonzes. There is an interesting letter from himself, in which he describes how he used to read at the crossings of the roads in Japanese and then preach, S. Francis standing by and praying to God to bless his words. He explains that his discourses were directed to showing the people that by their idolatry they forgot God their Creator, that the men were sinners by their abominable sin of sodomy, and that the women sinned by killing their children at child-birth or sooner so as to save themselves the trouble of bringing them up.[1] This represents the earliest stage of evangelization, for S. Francis was still at Yamaguchi. Next year

[1] See Otis Carey's *History of Christianity in Japan*. 2 vols., 1909.

Francis is writing that ' Cosmo (i.e. Torres) writes the sermons in our language, and Fernandez, who knows that of the country well enough, translates them into Japanese. Through their labours the Christians are advancing greatly in parts.' Christian instruction and edification were now combined with the arousing of the heathen conscience through denunciation of moral iniquity. But what had more effect than Juan's power of translation was his amazing humility. It was a refinement of grace which was new to the Japanese. One day a man came up to him as if intending to whisper in his ear, and then spat in his face. Brother Juan wiped his face with his handkerchief, and went on with his sermon. A young Japanese doctor saw this ; he had been contemplating the life of a bonze, but was so struck by this incident that his whole life was changed. He was baptized and became a well-known Jesuit under the name of Lawrence.

Of course there were ups and downs, and the Yamaguchi Mission was not one of those marvellous successes which make the modern reader sceptical. Once at a very early stage one reads of several hundred baptisms, and is made to think again of that problem of indiscriminate baptism, and also of the magnetic attraction of S. Francis. Now and then the growth of legend leads one to demand a series of miracles, unless acquaintance with contemporary reports has provided the antidote. Of course S. Francis has to have the gift of languages until we read his own plain account of events and realize how much he depended on Brother Juan who spoke ' passably well ' ; and we are very soon to read of his ' fluency.' In January, 1552, S. Francis seemed to have a fit of the blues ; he was always inclined to be troubled in spirit

when he was in India. He wrote in his European letter that he was disappointed with the results in Yamaguchi; the Jesuits were insulted in the streets and were sometimes hurt; as for himself, he had failed to fulfil his purposes, and had neither made an impression on the great men of the country nor had had an interview with the Emperor. But nothing modifies his estimate of Brother Juan. 'Juan Fernandez, though a simple layman, is most useful on account of the fluency he has acquired in the Japanese language, and of the aptness and clearness with which he translates whatever Father Cosmo suggests to him. At present he is entirely occupied in explaining all the mysteries of Jesus Christ to the people in daily instructions.'

On March 22nd he wrote to Father Rodriguez that the labours of Father Torres and Juan Fernandez 'surpass beyond comparison all those (wonderful as they may be) which the other members of the Society undergo in this country.' Did Father Rodriguez recall a certain donkey ride in Lisbon when he read this letter? Again, in April S. Francis was writing to the Superior that he was looking for recruits for Japan; he wants the new man to learn the language from Father Torres and Brother Juan. He asks for some who are learned in philosophy and astronomy. He would prefer to have Belgians or Germans, because they can stand the cold and fatigue; but he adds at once that they must learn Spanish or Portuguese, because the voyage will take about two years, and the people on board must be ministered to. In the same month he was writing from Cochin both to Ignatius and to the King of Portugal for reinforcements to be sent to Yamaguchi, and was ordering Father Gaspar Baertz, Rector of the College at Goa, to send a priest to join Father Torres next year. In

July he wrote to him again, this time from the Straits of Singapore, that three of the four new arrivals should go to Yamaguchi, and next year another learned priest, and at least one of them a man who can learn the language quickly.

Before the year was ended S. Francis had died outside China. One cannot well understand what Brother Juan thought when at length the news reached him. It is so easy to think of such a man as broken down by grief or as going to the other extreme and rejoicing that the beloved Father had entered heaven. He was both very human and a man of disciplined life ; it is reasonable to suppose that he received the news calmly, and with a great sense of loss gave himself to the task of doing what Father Francis would have expected of him. He certainly had not expected to see him again. Before he had received these news, and while he was still hoping to hear in due time of Francis's entrance into China, reinforcements came as a proof that Father Torres and himself were not forgotten.

Then the situation changed. Further disturbances broke up the work in Yamaguchi for a time. Hirado was the place to which Brother Juan used to go as an alternative, and it was from there that at the first Father Torres had been seconded for Yamaguchi, which place could not be left without a priest. For several years the work in Japan was centred in Hirado and in the province of Bungo ; but the Gospel was also making conquests in Satsuma. These were still the days of small things. In 1560 Father Torres and one other priest, together with four lay-brothers, were the only European missionaries in Japan. In 1564 Brother Juan was again in Hirado, pulling together the affairs which had been disordered by temporary troubles.

Two years later there were said to be only two thousand Christians in all Japan; twenty-three years later, when Valignani wrote the first of the annual letters or reports, the Christians numbered about one hundred and four thousand. There were at that time fifty-five Jesuits in Japan, a great advance on the eighteen of two years previously.

The changed situation between 1556 and 1579 was not so much produced by the increase of missionaries as it was the cause of the imperative demand for increase. The slow progress of the first years was beginning to bear fruit in what is spoken of as the natural growth of Christianity. In some spots the smaller sub-daimyos had been converted, and the strong sense of feudal loyalty had led the subjects to follow their lord's example. Here and there had been some forcible destruction of heathen idols, and the subjects had been ordered to become Christians. One illustration shall be given. In 1564 Takayama, a Sumarai, had been baptized with all his house, including a boy of ten, who afterwards was well known as Don Justo Ucondono. Seven years later Takayama inherited his brother's estates, and in 1576 handed them over to Don Justo in order that he might devote himself to the work of evangelization without incurring the risk of exerting the wrong kind of influence. The labours of this man, and the general influence of his family, were specially important, because outside of this area there were only weak centres on the mainland, a few converts in Tokyo, where a feeble start had been made in 1559 under the influence of the daimyo of Bungo, and a struggling congregation in Yamaguchi. The chief centre of Christianity was still the island of Kyushu, where were situated the home of 'Paul of the holy faith,' and Hirado the port for the

Portuguese merchants. Thus, as so often happens, the sowers died before the harvest was ready for the reapers, Fernandez in 1567 and Father Torres three years later.

We have ventured in this chapter to present the very beginnings of evangelization as though it were the work of a lay-brother. S. Francis was the inspiration ; the spade work was done by Father Torres and Brother Fernandez ; but it is not unfair to the priest, whose presence was essential to the lay-brother, to have given the chief place to the son of the silk merchant who died at the age of forty-two. It is Father Torres himself who generously wrote that ' very little would have been accomplished apart from the winning personality of this brother.'

It has often been said that the missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Far East were gravely compromised by the neglect to evangelize the masses in the desire to win over the great ones of this world. Where this is certainly the case, emphasis is laid upon it by that critical finger that finds satisfaction in discovering the weak spot. No one should resent a fair criticism, but where a mission is found that is conspicuously marked by the absence of the fault usually laid at the door of these pioneer missionaries, it would be a Christian act to draw attention to it. Perhaps just as those who find it difficult altogether to approve of Roman Catholic missions have seized upon commerce as the fatal blot in Japan, so they have united unconsciously in a conspiracy of silence about the main feature of the evangelization of this country. An actual stumbling-block to the acceptance of Christianity by the Japanese was their impression that it was a religion for the

canaille. This partial misunderstanding of the Gospel that was to be preached to the poor was largely due to the splendid work of another lay-brother. Almeyda was a wealthy Portuguese trader, and he devoted himself to the foundation of hospitals and of homes for foundlings. The first 'Annual letter' calls attention to this fact. It states that in twenty-five years scarcely more than two thousand converts had been made in a certain part of Kyushu, 'and these commonly were of very low condition—the poor and the sick who came to be cured in a hospital the Fathers had there; so that our land was despised and held in contempt by all the gentiles, who kept saying that it was a land for the diseased and the poor; and the Fathers every day had to suffer a thousand affronts and insults.'

That this remained a permanent feature of the mission, in spite of the suspicion given by this letter that it was to be corrected, is well substantiated by a report of the very last days of the missionaries' work in Japan, and which is here quoted from the impartial authority of Murdoch, written at the close of his account of the Shimabara revolt in 1637–38. 'From this time onwards there was a decrease in the annual roll of martyrs in Japan. Between 1639 and 1658 possibly not a thousand persons had to be dealt with for their Christianity; while between 1614 and 1635 as many as two hundred and eighty thousand are said to have been punished for their devotion to the foreign religion. And among these hypothetical thousands no more than seventy or eighty were Sumarai or ex-Sumarai, while among them there were at least one hundred and fifty outcastes or beggars, a class—or rather no class—which had never (to their honour) been neglected by the

missionaries, which had become entirely Christian in some districts, largely so in others, and which in the most flourishing days of Christianity had probably furnished some tens of thousands of converts.'

It is probably an idle fancy to associate the wealthy Portuguese trader with the young Spanish merchant. If we were writing a missionary novel we should make Almeyda's home one of those to which Juan had carried a letter of introduction when he went to Lisbon. We do not, however, know that his home was in Lisbon, or that he had heard of Brother Juan when he entered upon his novitiate. But at least it seems to us that there are spiritual influences not to be traced by external coincidences. In those heavenly regions of which S. Paul wrote, and which are not to be thought of as far away, perhaps the free-will offering of the young Cordovan life had something to do with the conversion of Almeyda.

There is one other similarly fanciful contact that strikes one's imagination. Brother Juan Fernandez was the first interpreter and translator in Japan : he not only translated in speech, we know that he wrote translations of the Fathers' sermons and instructions. The first little congregation would need a few prayers and something in the nature of a catechism. But there was as yet no printing press, although the Jesuits never neglected, at the earliest opportunity, to use this new weapon of the Gospel. We think that Brother Juan must often have dreamed of a press ; it would seem to him just the thing for a humble layman : he would learn how to work it, and would train Japanese Christian printers, and print the necessary books which the Fathers would write and he would translate. We are very ignorant of the knowledge that

is allowed to reach those who have passed from our more material contact with life ; but it is refreshing to ourselves to imagine Fernandez rejoicing in the fulfilment of such hopes. Sir Ernest Satow has told us that the Jesuit press produced between 1591 and 1610 a series of excellent books, and was the first to use movable type in Japan, which at one time was supposed to have been introduced by the Japanese from China.[1]

[1] Vol. xvii of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan has a review of Satow's book.

AN APPENDIX

1567–1638

In the year in which Brother Fernandez died the Portuguese discovered in a small collection of fisher huts a more suitable harbour than Hirado. It soon rose to importance, and became the chief centre of Japanese Christianity. This is Nagasaki, the last place of refuge in the seventeenth century, and the scene of Petitjean's dramatic discovery in 1865.

Father Torres, who so soon followed Brother Fernandez into the life beyond, shared with the lay-brother a complete ignorance of the fact that they had lived through critical years in which a new Japan was being born. How astonished they would have been if a voice from the future had told them that a drama in three acts was being performed, in which the European missionaries were to play a leading part, and which would end in a Japan closed and barred against all foreigners. The bare outline of these events must be told for those who care to know the fortunes of the Jesuits in Japan after the quiet opening chapter.

Nobunaga was not taken seriously until nearly the end of his life. He had been very little more than a rough adventurer, and he built more firmly than he knew. It was his task to begin the work of unifying the Empire. Starting life as a petty chieftain he was seeking all through to enlarge his possessions; fortune varied, but in the main he was adding to his fiefs. Whenever a daimyo was bitten by the craze of ambition, his heart became set on reaching Kyoto with sufficient prestige to influence the Shogun. He could then hope to extend his authority by waging war in the Shogun's name. In 1569 Nobunaga reached this stage in his advance, and was at last a man to be reckoned with. He was now Vice-Shogun and lord of three large provinces. He was murdered in Tokyo in 1582, when he had made himself master of thirty-two out of the sixty-eight provinces of Japan. At that time his subordinate ally Hideyoshi was dealing successfully with his opponent in the west.

To any one who has a picture in his mind of a Mongolian

warrior of the past, it must seem a strange alliance that informally existed between the missionaries and Nobunaga, who had as little intention to become a Christian as to introduce polyphonic music, and whose morals and blood-thirsty delights were loathsome to refined European gentlemen. The alliance was, of course, never recognized as such on either side ; its chief feature was a sort of tolerance given to the Jesuits instead of ' Off with their heads.' It has been said that Nobunaga had no objection to the foreigners by reason of their incurring the enmity of the bonzes, and it is safe to add that he had not a glimmer of a notion that their teaching was ever likely to make any impression on the country. But one is mistaken if the thought of the benefit of European commerce was connected in his mind with these curious people. Nobunaga's interests were more personal than national, and military rather than economic. Probably an entire indifference towards what they were doing, based on the inconceivability that it could in the least degree matter, was combined with a certain curious attraction towards men so utterly unlike those who crowded round him in sycophancy and duplicity. Possibly the ruffian was a little flattered by their respect.

There was a good chance that on Nobunaga's death the fruits of his life would be scattered. But there was Hideyoshi to gather them up, and he had not allied himself with Nobunaga for nothing. The Christians, foreign and Japanese alike, may have escaped trouble during the uncertain stage of events before Hideyoshi was firmly placed in Nobunaga's stead, through the good fortune that the various rivals were anxious to secure the support of Don Justo Ucondono. By 1585 Hideyoshi had all the political meshes in his own hands, was over-lord of the better half of Japan, had crushed his chief rival, joined forces with one of Nobunaga's sons and come to terms with Iyeyasu, who might have been expected to pursue his own fortune independently. What lay outside his reach was the northern part of the mainland and Kyushu ; but they were well separated from each other.

The situation was now precarious for the missionaries and their converts. Kyushu had taken an unfavourable turn for the Christians ; the daimyo of Bungo had appealed to Hideyoshi for help, which came too late, and the heathen lord of Satsuma was supreme. The new Vice-Provincial, Father Coelho, had paid an official visit to Osaka and was on the whole favourably impressed by the omens. In 1588 the astute Hideyoshi gained complete success over Kyushu by

diplomacy, and he remained outwardly friendly with the Christians. His newly appointed daimyos were either Christians or well disposed to the Christians.

Then suddenly Father Coelho was challenged. In July of this year there was a peremptory order to leave the country within twenty days, although Portuguese traders would be allowed to land so long as they did not import missionaries. We are left to our own surmises as to the cause of this violent *volte-face*. This man was a far-seeing statesman, and he was also master of Kyushu where Christianity was strongly entrenched. Large bodies of his soldiers were Christians, many of his officers, some important daimyos, and a number of government agents. But the curious thing is that the order was more or less evaded and without serious consequences. Only a few Jesuits left, who were wanted for China ; and from time to time Hideyoshi was made aware of the continued existence of the foreign Christians, and paid no heed to them. Between the putting forth of this edict and a change in the general situation in 1597, there were only fifteen Japanese Christians put to death, and for none of them was Hideyoshi personally responsible. The explanation of this strange tolerance or indifference seems to be twofold : Hideyoshi was continuously distracted by wars, first for the conquest of northern Japan and then by a desire to make a vast Mongolian empire including China and Corea ; and, unlike Nobunaga, he desired to encourage Portuguese trade.

But in 1597 we begin a European complexity in Japan, which henceforth becomes increasingly troublesome and unedifying. This is the year of the famous twenty-six martyrs, who were beatified in 1627, the first to be thus honoured by the Congregation of the Sacred Rites instituted by Pope Sixtus V in 1587 ; they were canonized in 1862. These twenty-six, who were put to death on the hill of martyrs, included six Philippine Franciscans and three Japanese Jesuits. They were led ignominiously from Sakai through city after city in the dead of winter and were crucified[1] by the direct orders of Hideyoshi in Nagasaki, a Christian stronghold by this time and just where the Portuguese sailors and traders would be most impressed. Father Froes, in his 'Narrative of the twenty-six crucified,' says definitely that the great Shogun was convinced that 'the propagation of the faith would be prejudicial to the safety of the empire.'

[1] 'Impaled' would express the meaning better : there was no deliberate insult to the Christian religion.

It was the first extreme application of the edict against the foreigners, and even now the blow had not fallen on any of the Europeans. In 1587 there had been forty Jesuit fathers, European and Japanese, and seventy-three lay-brothers of whom twenty-six were European. As has happened again and again, the edict only resulted in the dispersion of these agents throughout the country, and the further extension of the Christian Faith. In 1595–96 there were one hundred and seventy-six Jesuits in Japan, and only twelve of them had official recognition, ten of whom were in Nagasaki to minister to the Portuguese. During these ten years it is said that about sixty thousand adults were baptized.

We have reached a new phase in the history of Christianity in Japan. In 1581 the crowns of Spain and Portugal had been united, and thereby Portugal came within the sphere of any European anti-Spanish policy. It was henceforth a sound policy for Holland, if it could, to wrest the Japanese trade from Portuguese hands. It was also natural that the Spaniards should now expect to share alike with Portugal in the ecclesiastical privileges granted by the Pope. So Spanish traders in the Philippines wanted a look in ; Manila, like an upstart, was jealous of Macao. Similarly Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans were thirsting to share in the dangers of the Portuguese Jesuits.

Where there is a will there is generally a way. A remarkably astute Japanese Christian called Harada conceived the brilliant idea of assuring the Spanish Franciscans that Hideyoshi was longing to welcome them, and of explaining to Hideyoshi how easy it would be for him to seize the Spanish islands. So the governor of the Philippines sent an embassy of Franciscans in 1593, which promptly began to evangelize in public. To put it mildly, it was trying to the Jesuits who had borne the burden and heat of the day and were now reduced to working secretly.

In 1596 a Spanish vessel from Manila, the *San Felipe*, was stranded on the coast, and the Japanese, like our own Cornishmen, regarded it as treasure-trove, and enthusiastically broke it up. Four Augustinian friars found on board were sent back, but two Franciscans remained and were among the twenty-six martyrs. From this brief outline it is easy to appreciate why Hideyoshi should have broken out into violence in 1597. Then he died, and it was the turn for the third master-builder to carry on the work. This man was Iyeyasu. A pitched battle in 1600 at Sekigahara secured his position,

and he proceeded to centralize the government, and diplomatically to leave the religious question in abeyance. Once more it was the European nations that were to force it to the front.

In 1594 the port of Lisbon had been closed to the 'rebel subjects,' that is to the Dutch. This almost forced the Dutch to get their Eastern trade at the fountain head instead of picking it up, as heretofore, at Lisbon. In 1600 one of their vessels, the *de Liefde*, was detained in Japan, and its pilot, a Kentishman named Will Adams, gained Iyeyasu's favour as a handyman with no religious fads. Adams seems to have lumped Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican together as merely 'furriners' mixed up in some mischief of the Pope.

Iyeyasu was fully alive to the value of foreign commerce, and as time went on he found that the Dutch would best suit his purposes, as they had no silly nonsense about missionaries, and were gradually ruining the Portuguese trade. His keenness to encourage trade in northern Japan even led Iyeyasu into making terms with the Spaniards of the Philippine islands, for which end he was prepared to oil the wheels of diplomacy by a concession to the Franciscans in Yedo and Kyoto. Altogether things were going badly for the Portuguese, the Pope and Philip III alike rescinding their privileges. Just then a letter arrived from Maurice of Nassau (in 1609), and a Dutch factory was opened in Hirado, followed within a few years by an English one. Will Adams wrote home of Iyeyasu that 'he wass veery glad and rejoyced that strange nacions had such good oppinion.' What actually Iyeyasu did think is uncertain. If he had not had dealings with the Spaniards we should say that he guaged the situation well and meant to encourage the two countries that did not bother their heads to send missionaries.

Neither the Portuguese nor the Spaniards were behaving wisely. Bishop Rodriguez arrived in 1606 and began to show courtesy in Osaka to the family of Hideyoshi, in the interests of which Iyeyasu was professing to keep order; but it is hard to imagine that the bishop seriously believed this. A foolish Franciscan had some years before asked permission to take soundings in the Japanese harbours, and in 1609 some Spanish vessels on their way to Mexico were driven in by storms, and made terms favourable to themselves about some mining works; but Iyeyasu declined the condition that the Dutch should be expelled. Then, as if by this time fate had turned against Portugal, the *Madre de Dios* reached Nagasaki with

twelve Jesuits, and the Portuguese sailors began quarrelling with the Japanese. To prevent the ship from being seized the captain scuttled it, and down went the Jesuit food supplies for two years, and all the rich goods that Iyeyasu might have seized as a penalty for smuggling in the missionaries.

In 1612 Iyeyasu had had enough of various intrigues and jealousies. He was none too happy about the Spanish soundings, and there had been a suspicion of disloyalty among some Christian Japanese government servants. It was the beginning of the end. First, no Japanese Christian could hold office; then sixty-three Jesuits were shipped off to Macao, and the Franciscans, and with them Don Justo Ucondono and a number of Jesuits, were sent to Manila. This was in 1614, when a nice ecclesiastical squabble was going on about the administration of Japan. Léon Pagés writes, 'that nevertheless, in the midst of the preparations for exile, and after the departure of most of the missionaries, the dissensions continued.'[1]

The second crisis in Iyeyasu's life was now come. He had secured his pre-eminence at the battle of Sekigahara, but posed as the guardian of Hideyoshi's family. It is one thing to trust a child, and another to trust him when he is a grown man. So siege was laid to the almost impregnable fortress of Osaka in 1615, where Hideyoshi's son lived, and a hard won victory was followed by a ruthless slaughter. The old man of seventy-three had gained another triumph. Although foreign missionaries were all supposed to have been expelled, five were found in Osaka, and all of them escaped. Next year Iyeyasu died, having accomplished his life's task; and his work ended in a Japan shut off from foreigners even at the sacrifice of that commerce which the three master-builders, or more accurately two of them, had tried to foster. Dr. Murray,[2] at one time adviser to the Japanese Minister of Education, has investigated the accounts of the persecutions from Jesuit and from Japanese sources, and has decided that there is no substantial difference between them. Persecution raged intermittently. It is said that Nagasaki still had forty thousand Christians in 1626, while not one could be found in 1629. Of course Christians remained in secret, and they scattered from the special areas of persecution; but increasingly they became a community without organization, in spite of the heroic efforts of the Jesuits to come to their aid.

The last page of this history has yet to be told, and before

[1] *Histoire de la religion Chrétienne du Japon*, 1869.

[2] *Japan*, 'The Story of the Nations' series.

it a piece of history concerning ourselves which explains the disappearance of the English from further competition for the Japanese trade. Most of us get our idea of Holland from Motley's *History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and our impression is of a nation of God-fearing Protestants who lived for the sake of fighting for their religion. It rather jars us when it is suggested that the Portuguese and the Spanish were interested in evangelization, but that Holland was not ; much as it has perplexed us perhaps at times that the Protector was the first English ruler who seemed willing to indulge in war with Holland. The fact is that in her usual half-blind way England was putting out a hand to grasp the Eastern trade, and Holland was her rival. The Spice Islands were the heart of the Eastern commerce, and Amboyna was the centre of the Spice Islands. The Dutch had granted us certain trading facilities there, and we had a factory with a Japanese guard. In 1623 a quarrel broke out in Amboyna between the rival trading elements, and eighteen English merchants were at the mercy of two hundred Dutchmen. First, a Japanese was put to torture and forced to make a confession that the English were planning a conspiracy ; then the eighteen Englishmen were arrested and tortured ; finally ten of the English and nine of the Japanese guard were publicly executed. Williamson's comment is that ' this ghastly affair, of which the details rest on unshakable evidence, rivals the most exaggerated horrors of the Inquisition. The Inquisitors, indeed, had the excuse of believing that they saved the soul by killing the body ; Van Speult and his comrades committed their crime for the sake of commercial advantage.' [1]

A violent storm of indignation was roused in England, but nothing was done in spite of the protests of the East India Company. James I and Charles I uttered mild complaints, which were ignored because they would not come to blows. It was left to Oliver Cromwell to obtain tardy compensation for the families of the English traders and sailors. It was this incident that brought our trade in the Far East to a close, and left Portugal at Nagasaki and Holland at Hirado. But the massacre of Amboyna was not forgotten, and in 1726, more than a hundred years after, there appeared a book with the curious title, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*. The reader may possibly fail to recognize the familiar *Gulliver's Travels* under this name, and he has prob-

[1] *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 221. The language seems exaggerated.

ably not appreciated Dean Swift's delightful satire when he makes the Japanese Emperor say to Gulliver ' that he began to doubt whether I was a real Hollander or not ; but rather suspected that I must be a Christian.'

So it came to pass that Portugal and Holland were left in the field, nothing having matured in northern Japan from Spain. Even now there were about eighteen to twenty Jesuit missionaries in the country. The persecution that broke out was probably due to the timidity of the commonplace rulers who had succeeded the great three. Fear is easily the cause of persecution. The Japanese had ordered that Christians were not to be ; and consequently every Christian raised visions before their eyes of a wholesale advance of the hated religion. Against such fears, and the dread of foreigners, no consideration of trade had any weight. From 1626–29 torture was practised on the native Christians in Nagasaki ; and then it became the turn of the European missionary. Then a new horror was invented, known as the *fosse*, the particular merit of which was that it combined a maximum of suffering with a maximum time to end life. One poor Jesuit Father was the first European to give way under the torture, after five hours of indescribable agony. Father Vieira, the Jesuit Vice-Principal, had slipped back with some others in 1632 ; he was arrested next year near Osaka, and in the following year he endured the *fosse* for three days, and was then burnt. Of the Japanese Christians who suffered it is impossible to make an estimate ; but in spite of extreme orders most of the humbler Christians were ignored.

The last scene takes us to the peninsula of Shimabara near to Nagasaki ; it was the last stronghold of the Christians, and the people were deliberately overtaxed and then cruelly punished. By the end of 1637 a rising was imminent, and the people sought refuge in the old and deserted castle of Hara close by. This did actually take the form of a Christian movement. The Dutch factor at Hirado, Koeckbacker, was called upon to assist the government with his ships and heavy artillery. One does not envy him ; but it is perhaps true that he ' did not do more than any one else of any nationality would probably have done in the same difficult position.' [1] The final assault was made in April, 1638. The bodies of the slain were counted and reckoned to be seventeen thousand.

Even after this, when Christianity was supposed to have been exterminated, a Portuguese embassy arrived in 1640 ;

[1] Vol. xi of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

its envoys and fifty-seven of their companions were beheaded and the ship was burnt. Thirteen were sent back to Macao to report events, after their attention had been directed to a commemorative tablet of which the last words were, 'So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself, or even the very God of the Christians, or the great Shaka, contravene this prohibition, they shall pay for it with their heads.' To the immense credit of the Jesuits it should be added that some still tried to find ways of slipping back to minister to the scattered remnants of the flock.

With this history in mind, let us return in imagination to the Church of the Twenty-six Martyrs in Nagasaki, and kneel beside the little group of Japanese Christians at midday, March 17, 1865.

CHAPTER III

MATTEO RICCI

OUR old Norse ancestors were not mere pirates and marauders ; they were also men of commerce, who from their homes on the Baltic opened trade routes between Asia and Europe. By the end of the thirteenth century the foundations had been laid of what became known as the Hanseatic League. Goods from Persia and the Far East found their way by caravan to the northern shores of the Caspian, and were thence conveyed to the Baltic, and so passed from city to city of the West.

There was another trade route passing along the southern shores of the Caspian to the Black Sea ; south again of this was a trade route from Ceylon and India and the Malay peninsula up the Persian Gulf to Basra and thence by alternative lines either to the Black Sea or to Smyrna or to Aleppo or via Damascus to Beirut. These southern trade lines were the opportunity for the Italian merchants, ready to receive the goods at any one of these ports. There was yet another route ; for the Arabs had a monopoly of the Indian Ocean, and the rich goods of Japan and China and India could be carried to the Red Sea and thence to the Italian merchants of Alexandria.

Unlike the great merchant cities of the North, the Italians did not combine into a league, but engaged in competitive trade, and from this struggle Venice and Genoa rose to eminence. This

explains why these two cities had acquired islands in the Aegean and the Greek Archipelago ; it also makes clear the Crusading treachery of 1204 by which they gained a solid foothold in Constantinople. Great interest attaches to the history of the large commercial and banking firms, such as the Venetian house of Polo with a centre in Constantinople, and the German Fuggers of the fourteenth century and onwards. These merchant princes produced the great commercial travellers of the age, preparing the way for ambassadors ; the correspondence of the firms anticipated our modern books of travel and Reuter's News-agency. The travels of Marco Polo and some volumes of the Fugger news letters may be read in English, and the industrious Richard Hakluyt has collected a quantity of information from which one may learn about the activity of our own merchants.

Portugal, alike because of its situation and its perpetual conflicts with the Moors, had the strongest reasons for determining to secure the control of the Oriental trade. In the fifteenth century the country began to feel its way ; Madeira was discovered—not for the first time—in 1416, and then the Azores in 1431. Under the stimulus of Prince Henry the Navigator, who died in 1460, the coast of West Africa was being explored.

Now if one ask what all this has to do with evangelization, he shows himself to be ignorant of the ideas prevailing in Europe only a few centuries ago. There was religious fervour strongly running through the whole conflict with the Moors ; to snatch the conveyance of the Eastern trade from the Arabs was as much a religious as a commercial ambition. The hated Moslem hedged round the Iberian peninsula and Italy ; there was every danger of the Mediterranean becoming a Moslem lake.

Henry the Navigator is rightly regarded as a belated Crusader. Anybody could have told you tales of Prester John, although now he would be in one country and now in another. When mariners landed at a new port they asked promptly after gold and Christians. Commerce and evangelization were not terms that had nothing to do with one another; the last thing that a Spanish or Portuguese sea captain would do would be to laugh at missionaries.

Holland, England, and France did not as yet enter into the struggle; Spain and Portugal were the competing powers. It was only when the northern lands realized that these new-world discoveries were a commercial triumph that they seriously bestirred themselves; and, at the time when the Pope was the one authority that could claim the strange new people in the Name of Christ, he had allotted them to the two peninsular powers. South Europe had therefore the advantage of a good start, and Vasco da Gama unfolded to Portugal her vocation to wrest the Arabian trade by securing a solid basis on the Malabar coast and a foothold in China. What he laid down at the very end of the fifteenth century, Albuquerque worked out in detail. In 1510 he made Goa the commercial basis, and then secured Malacca, which commanded the Malay peninsula and the trade of the Spice Islands. In 1557 Portugal obtained leave to build factories at Macao, which even in the days of Robert Morrison (died 1834) was either the entrance into China or more often the door that was shut.

The loose tradition of Apostolic labours in China does not claim attention; occasional Christians found their way there, bent probably on com-

merce ; and then the Nestorians from their mountain homes in Kurdistan and Mesopotamia entered the country and made considerable progress. A tablet exists in bilingual form, recording the state of their missions in A.D. 782. In the thirteenth century the enlightened Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, invited missionaries from Gregory X through Nicolo and Marco Polo. Instead of the hundred learned men for whom he made appeal, two friars were despatched, who fled from the trials of the journey and returned home. The same Pope gave Giovanni di Monte Corvino[1] a sort of roving commission over Persia and the East in 1289, and he was supported by Arnold of Cologne in 1303, another Franciscan, who was made Archbishop of Peking. These men were favourably received, and some reinforcements were sent out. The Franciscans discovered the Nestorians, and, very regrettably, but also very naturally, regarded them as dangerous enemies, who were bent on spreading a false religion. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) wiped out the whole of this promising mission.

The next stage is connected with S. Francis Xavier, the beloved friend of S. Ignatius. Popular fancy has fastened upon his name almost to the exclusion of all other missionaries. His life story is familiar, and the most severe criticism that has been passed on him is that his Basque temperament made him restless, so that he could not stay in any place sufficiently long to consolidate his work. The magnetism of his person almost surpasses belief ; the burning enthusiasm, which led him from city to city and country to country to sow the Gospel seed, has become a legend. Everybody

[1] Reference may be made to an article in the *International Review of Missions* for January, 1929. See also *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. vi, pp. 752–754.

knows how he died, exhausted by the strain of his work in India and Japan, and worn out by fever, in 1552, his longing eyes turned towards China. The Portuguese merchants had not yet secured their *pied-à-terre* at Macao, and were not in the humour to risk their Chinese trade for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, or even for the Jesuit whom they and all men already knew to be a saint. The body of S. Francis was afterwards translated to Goa; but there is a Chinese inscription to mark its first resting place. 'The monument of S. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, in the great West, who ascended to glory in the winter of the thirty-first year of Ming Kea-tsing, A.D. 1553.'

In the year that Francis Xavier died, Matteo Ricci was born in the Italian marches. His father was a nobleman, and probably had ambitions for his son; at any rate young Matteo settled his future for himself by joining the Jesuits in opposition to his father's wishes. He was then a boy of nineteen, and the Jesuits had just opened a house in Macao that was destined to become the training school for their Chinese missionaries, who as yet had not succeeded in getting into the country. It is not surprising that ardent youths were applying at that time for permission to serve in the East Indian Missions. Wonderful stories were coming from India, there were occasional missionary reports from Japan, and always there must have been the picture before men's eyes of the dying Francis.

Matteo made his offer. If he were to be a missionary in that part of the world, it was desirable, if not actually necessary, that he should start from Portugal. He arrived at Goa in 1578, with other Italians who had joined with him. Here he pursued his studies, and added to his stores of know-

ledge. He had a good brain, and, owing to the advantages of education, he had already shown such promise as would cause some people to say that he was being wasted as a missionary. In 1582 he was sent to Macao, to join those others who were waiting until God should open the road to China. Under the patient tuition of Valignani they were turned into proficient Chinese scholars and masters of Confucian ethics, as well as carrying on their mathematical and astronomical studies.

Valignani is another of the great missionaries of this period, whose very name is even unknown to most of us. He devoted the best years of his life to the Oriental missions, and was a great maker of missionaries, having a profound conviction that nothing was too good for such work. If we were to turn aside to give an outline of his life, which is as closely associated with Japan as with China, we should have also to interrupt the narrative in order to tell of Matteo's fellow Italian Jesuits, two of whom were now with him at Macao, and all of whom were to become famous men. It must suffice to say that a modern historian of the Jesuits calls Valignani the greatest man in these missions after Francis Xavier. He too was an Italian, and his father had been an intimate friend of Pope Paul IV. A brilliant future lay before him if he chose to remain in Italy; but he gave his submission to the holy Francis Borgia, the Society's third General, and was made Visitor of the Indian missions.

To attempt to enter China by a ruse was to invite death, and to stir up the enmity of the Portuguese merchants. As has been seen from the sad end to Xavier's life, the Portuguese merchants were not men who would risk the prosperity of their commerce to gratify even a saint. To enter

in state and appear before some provincial ruler as a Portuguese embassy was what the times would suggest, but Valignani did not encourage it. To wait for permission to enter might be to wait till the day of one's death. Yet they waited.

The accounts of the first entry upon the mainland are not very reliable. Sometimes it is described as a kind of boyish trick played by Michele Ruggieri, one of Matteo's Italian friends, who impersonated the Portuguese Bishop of Macao. The story is that the Bishop and the Portuguese Governor of Macao were summoned by the provincial king, and either others were permitted to represent them, or went with them, or very possibly went in their stead, as it would have been derogatory to the dignity of these officials to appear in person. The only thing that is clear is that Ruggieri saw the king, expressed his desire to remain in China among people of such enlightenment, and talked very attractively about a wonderful clock. The friendly advance that is to-day made to the uncivilized by calico or by beads, was made to those highly civilized people by clocks, and was to be cemented by atlases and astronomical instruments.

An opening was given ; it was a very precarious one, and much depended on the use that was made of it. China was not accustomed to foreigners, and the country was anything but settled, and friendly local governors or provincial kings might disappear at any time. This is what happened now, in spite of the high hopes that had been raised and the Buddhist temple that had been put at the disposal of these newly arrived foreigners. The provincial ruler was deposed, and his successor dismissed the Portuguese missionaries. They had, however, made a good impression by their know-

ledge of Chinese and by their general learning, and not least by their gifts. In 1589 they were back in Chekiang by special request.

It was at this moment that Ricci deliberately decided the main lines of his future work. Hitherto he had appeared dressed not unlike a Buddhist priest. Now he adopted the dress of the scholar class. The change was significant. The Christian mission had determined to make its appeal to the intellectual people of China, rather than to dispute with the Buddhists, to aim at the great men of the nation and not at the people. The change of dress was something like putting off the uniform of the Church Army and assuming a doctor's gown and hood. How far Ricci had as yet thought out his line of approach is not known. He must have been impressed by the higher teaching of the great writers and thinkers, and have seen his way to favourable debating points; he could scarcely have arrived at his completely developed policy until further opportunity of discussion had made him entirely familiar with the intellectual life of the leading men. But he had put himself out of sympathy with popular religion; the Buddhists were his enemies henceforth, and everything would depend upon the uncertainty of official protection. 'Put not your trust in princes,' may have sounded in his ears. The mission would depend for its life on the prosperity of the rulers who were fascinated by the Western learning. The missionaries put their trust in God, Who had heard their prayers and the prayers of S. Francis Xavier, and secondarily in their ability to retain the intellectual friendship of those whom Burke would have called the men of light and leading.

It is not to be supposed that China lay open before Ricci and his companions, to go where they

willed. They had an uncertain asylum in one city. They had not seen the Emperor; there was no official liberty for foreigners or any grant of toleration for Christianity. The present duty was to increase the favourable impression, to gain a patient hearing, and to carry on their studies. If they could make themselves useful by helping the Chinese in map-projection, if their astronomical knowledge could be at the disposal of the learned men of the country, they could discuss also the foundations of Chinese conduct and their grounds for believing in the supra-sensual life. In 1595 Ricci was permitted to go to Peking. He found on the journey that the feeling of the country was so strong against foreigners that it was prudent to be content with a sojourn in Nanking, a city peculiarly devoted to astronomy. Here he extended his knowledge of Chinese thought, and came to the conclusion that the ceremonies of ancestral worship and the devotions paid to Confucius were social and national in character, and could be tolerated by Christians.

It is not by any means the only occasion in the history of missions, when a difficult decision has had to be made on what is probably insufficient study of the facts. In our own lifetime missionaries have been known to hold very different views, and to hold them strongly, as to the correct word to appropriate for the deity as conceived by Christians, or the degree of approval that may be conceded to circumcision rites, whether native folklore songs and melodies may be introduced into the Christian Church or whether they savour of immorality by association. But whereas the nineteenth-century missions were for the most part in a position to lay down their rules somewhat arbitrarily, Ricci had to consider his decision from the

point of view of a man who might be turned out of the country.

A few years later the situation was so favourable, that Ricci could make his headquarters in Peking. From 1601 until his death in 1610 he resided there, respected and even honoured for his learning. If his Western learning was valued, it was because the scholars saw in him a man whose knowledge of their own language, literature, and thought was equal to their own. In the laborious life of modern missionaries, and under conditions that do not easily give entire independence to the individual, it is rarely that we find men who in just this way come to be esteemed by the learned, as Ricci and some others were held in regard in China, or as de Nobili and a few of his followers in India.

Matteo Ricci was fifty-eight at his death. He had spent twenty-eight years in China, and thirty-two years in the East. He had worn himself out by study, by writing, and by endless discussions with Mandarins. He was a foreigner, and he was for all practical purposes a Portuguese. He had had to overcome the deeply-rooted aversion of the Chinese authorities to the nation whose traders along the coast had behaved in such a fashion that revenge had been taken on their semi-ambassadorial representatives at Peking and Foo-chow. When leave had been given to rent a settlement on the peninsula of Macao, to which were attached humiliating conditions, it was a compromising conclusion to a long course of heated negotiations. Yet Ricci was buried with every honour by the Chinese court, and a Buddhist temple was converted into a Christian Church that it might receive his body.

So great a part of his life in China was spent in literary work, which is of no interest to the general

reader, that material is lacking for a popular narrative. We must be content to call attention to some features of his work which were later to become the subject of fierce debate. Ricci was laying solid foundations for a Christian superstructure that was to be erected afterwards. It was not his purpose to give an exhaustive presentation of the whole Christian Faith, but to turn the Confucian system of the learned into a direction that was calculated to lead Chinese thought into that conception of God which could correspond, as it were, with the Jewish foundation on which the Christian revelation and system of thought is based. While S. Francis Xavier would teach the children a few popular tags, and las Casas was happy to make use of jingling couplets, Ricci's mind was moulded on the lines of scholasticism. To express a preference for the pious simplicity of those, and to mutter something about ' not many learned ' or ' I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified ' with reference to Ricci, does not help ; for those preached to the most ignorant, and he was endeavouring to convince the most learned.

But there is a case for debating whether it is well to begin with the learned, instead of leaving them to follow when the ignorant have turned to Christ as their Saviour and have found in Him enlightenment as well as life. Something of this debate may be said to be going on even to-day in India ; and perhaps the only satisfactory end of it is to say that in such countries as India, Japan, and China both methods of approach must be followed. But the same man cannot do both. Ricci followed the only method that he, being such as he was, could follow. At a later date a grave charge was made that he had been unfaithful to his

primary duty of witnessing to Christ, and especially that he had hidden the shame of the Cross.

It is one of the accusations against the Jesuit mission in China that it adopted the false method of royal patronage instead of being democratic. It is a little difficult to imagine what an Italian of good family would understand by a democratic appeal in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He could scarcely be expected to have a predilection in favour of going to the common people, when he found that the high born and the learned, on whose favour his continuance in China depended, were ready to give him a hearing.

One is tempted to make a contrast between Ricci and Raymund Lull ; the man who devoted his life to the study of Chinese Confucianism and the man who wore himself out with a lifetime of research into the Arabic language and Mohammedan literature. Lull was probably even a greater scholar than Ricci ; both men were linguists, men of science, and philosophers, and Lull had the additional advantage of visiting the European universities, and keeping in close touch with the advance of Western learning. But here the comparison ends. Our hearts glow as we think of the great Franciscan who boldly preached and disputed in the streets of North African Bougie, and who returned to what he knew would end in martyrdom. We remain cold when we think of Ricci, who died three centuries afterwards and was buried with almost princely honours. The contrast is not altogether just, but it is not to be shaken. While a hundred persons in England to-day will feel that life has been enriched by the death of Raymund Lull, there is scarcely one who is moved to give more than intellectual approval of the life-long

services of Matteo Ricci. We are stirred by the fiery devotion to our Lord that made Lull challenge 'the false prophet,' albeit with courtesy and fairness of debate; we cannot overcome a certain prejudice against Ricci, because of a suspicion that he presented the truth of Christianity in an attenuated form to the learned men of China. We admire the boldness of the one who staked all on a direct challenge, and lost; we are not stirred to the depths by the other, who sought to prepare the way by establishing points of contact. Yet so far as physical courage is concerned, Ricci was certainly not inferior to Raymund Lull.

There was a fundamental difference between the two men, which explains the differences between their methods. Raymund Lull preached Jesus Christ; Ricci was introducing Christianity. The one offered a Gospel and presented a challenge; the other, no less eager to bring the Gospel to a new country, allowed himself to be side-tracked into ethics, and did not trust solely to the appeal of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The same contrast, but in a very different form, exists between S. Francis Xavier and Matteo Ricci. The religion of the people was Buddhism, and its priests were despised by the intellectual followers of the more aristocratic Confucianism. Ricci had to make his choice between the two; and he made the only choice that it was possible for a man of his temperament to make. Xavier would just as naturally have made the alternative selection; he would have gone to the people and have preached Jesus Christ in simplicity. No charge could have been brought against him that he had suppressed the Gospel of the Cross. His appeal would have been to the heart; Ricci sought to win the favourable consent of the head.

In the year of Ricci's birth the treaty of Passau had given approval to the principle *Cujus regio, ejus religio* ; each territorial prince was to choose between the Catholic and the Lutheran faith, and his decision was to bind his subjects. Ricci did not even live in Germany, and had not had to face the tolerance of any alternative form of Christianity. One may confidently affirm that if he knew anything of this compromise, he regarded it as sound enough for a Catholic prince, and intolerable for the subjects of a Lutheran prince. But just as confidently we may affirm that Ricci was in complete agreement with those who signed the treaty of Passau, that it is the business of the ruler to see to the religious faith of his subjects ; and in China the ruling class was Confucian, and if it could be made Christian the country would follow. It would be unthinkable to him that the people should choose their religion, and that a change of religion should come from below. If Ricci were asked about Luther, even apart from the unprintable language in which he would have expressed his opinion of his doctrines, we may be sure that he would also have despised him for having appealed to the mob.

It will be a good thing at this stage to collect some testimony from writers who will not be unduly prejudiced in favour of the Jesuit missionaries. In the middle of the last century a learned and devoted servant of the London Missionary Society, who worked for forty years in China, wrote a comprehensive work on *China, its State and Prospects*. Dr. Medhurst is of the type of writers to whom the different sketches that make up this book are often indebted. It has not always been possible to consult what historians know as original authorities. Secondary authorities of reliable char-

acter may be trusted in their judgements, particularly in such cases as are not likely to show suspicious signs of partiality. For example, Jesuit authors have been consulted again and again for information about facts; but their estimate of the character of missionaries is suspect, especially when one sees clear evidence of a tendency to think it impossible that a Jesuit missionary could err even in judgement. But Dr. Medhurst is not suspect; he wins the respect and the confidence of the reader by his freedom from partisan prejudice in his sketch of the Roman Catholic missions from the beginning to his own times. While another and later missionary, who has won the respect of all who know his work, has given it as his opinion that one reason why the early missions in China collapsed is that they did not encourage the vernacular press, Dr. Medhurst commends the Chinese translation of most of the New Testament, of which large portions of the Gospels and Epistles were 'inserted in the lessons' for the use of the congregation. He probably means that the Gospels and Epistles of the Mass were printed.

Dr. Medhurst supports his general estimate by quotations from Dr. Milne, who was a companion of Dr. Robert Morrison. Referring to the first Catholic missionaries, he writes, 'The learning, personal virtues, and ardent zeal of some of them deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries, will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any.' To the same period belongs another writer; Dr. Gützlaff was a German missionary of the Netherlands Missionary Society, and he devoted a long life to the cause of Chinese missions, and has left it on record that 'Ricci had spent only twenty-seven years in China, but when he died there were more than three hundred churches in

the different provinces,' and ' whatever is valuable in Chinese astronomical science has been borrowed from the treatises of Roman Catholic missionaries.'

There is a danger, when one's interest is fixed on a particular missionary, of leaving an impression on people's minds that there was no other worker in the field. We will therefore make a break, in order to give a short account of the history of the mission in China, and then revert to the particular problem which connects itself with Ricci's name, since the distressing and unedifying conflict belongs in its later stages to the beginnings of the eighteenth century.

During the lifetime of Ricci several mission stations had been opened by one or other of his companions, and already one of them had fallen a victim to local fury. Soon after Ricci's death there was a revival of persecution, and all the missionaries were dismissed to Macao. In the fluctuations of fortune it is not possible to describe the situation at any one time without a minuteness of detail that would be wearisome. At one moment all the foreigners are in prison, and the native catechists are carrying on boldly ; at another, by some strange accident, the missionaries have freedom to do what they will. Now one may read that provocative behaviour in Macao has aroused the suspicions of the Chinese, which were never more than lulled, and then at the next turn the Portuguese have aided one or other of contending leaders and are in favour. The Ming dynasty had wiped out an earlier stage of evangelization, but was not to earn the reputation of repeating this feat. The disturbances and warfare, that brought in the Manchu dynasty at the end of a series of wars with Japan and Corea, were responsible for some

of these changes of fortune ; but what happened in one province or even in the chief city of that province is not necessarily a key to the condition of the Christians elsewhere.

Adam von Schall, a Jesuit of Cologne, had entered China in 1622 or somewhat later. At that moment all the foreign missionaries were in prison. He proved to be a second Ricci ; his influence upon the leading Chinese obtained for his companions a general permission to preach. The reports that were circulated in Europe brought a number of volunteers. It is calculated that of about six hundred who started for China, two-thirds were either lost at sea or died on the slow voyage from the unwholesome conditions of life on board ship. These statements are amazing, but the facts were published when any wild exaggeration could have been contradicted, and there is unimpeachable evidence of attempts to reach the Far East overland in order to avoid these evils. Journeys were attempted through Russia and Manchuria, and across Persia.

Schall had to endure every change of fortune. At one time enthusiastic missionaries, newly arrived, and shocked at the concessions to Confucian ceremonies, denounced the followers of Ricci, and with a certain lack of discretion declared that Confucius was in hell. At another time the persecutions thereby renewed have passed, and Schall is in such favour that he is tutor to the infant prince. Then again the situation has changed and all the missionaries are in prison. Dr. Medhurst's estimate of Schall is that ' his character for humility and modesty was only equalled by his well-known application and industry. He seemed insensible to everything but the promotion of science and religion. His private papers are in-

dicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigour of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the crowd of business, and the ardour with which he served religion.' He died in 1666 worn out by his labours and by the sufferings of prison life.

Another of the outstanding Jesuits of this period was the Belgian, Ferdinand Verbiest, who after serving an apprenticeship in the general mission work of China, had been called to the aid of Schall, and shared in his prison life. Somewhere about the seventies of the seventeenth century an estimate, which appears in almost all our secondary authorities, states that there were one hundred and fifty-one Jesuit churches with thirty-eight residences, twenty-one Dominican churches with two residences, and one Franciscan establishment. The total Christian population was reckoned to be about two hundred and fifty thousand. Verbiest applied to Louis XIV of France for assistance, and six learned Jesuits were sent from Paris, while others continued to follow until the suppression of the Jesuits in France in 1764.

Verbiest was not only a scholar ; he was also a very courageous man. Even when he was in the highest favour, perhaps most of all when he seemed exalted above his enemies' reach, he knew that at any moment his fall might be correspondingly great. He had stood side by side with Schall in 1664, and had suffered imprisonment with him and had been under sentence of death. And his physical was equalled by his mental courage. Uniat rites might be permitted to the ancient Churches of the East, but the possibility of using the Chinese language for liturgical purposes was an act of originality and mental daring. Luther might encourage such a thing as a people's Bible, and the

Reformers could claim boldly that the language understood by the people was the fit and proper tongue in which to sing the praises of God. But such examples only made it the more daring to propose that Mass should be said in Chinese. The idea seems to have originated before Verbiest's arrival, for Paul V was approached as early as 1617. The suggestion was entertained, and the missionaries, bent on a Chinese priesthood, worked diligently at translations. The *Summa* of S. Thomas, and other books that would be of service to priests, were translated, and in 1681 Innocent XI was presented with a copy of the Chinese Missal, which Verbiest dedicated to the Pope. The gift was courteously received, and the writer of the dedication was commended for 'using the profane sciences to promote Christianity.' But permission to make use of the Missal was courteously but definitely refused. Verbiest died in 1688.[1]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the prospects of the mission were brighter than at any previous time. Even in the darkest days there had always been a few Europeans who, disguised and carefully guarded from place to place by faithful Chinese Christians, had succeeded in giving the Sacraments to hidden congregations. Although it was impossible to say how long these favourable conditions would have continued, if nothing had happened inside the Church to disturb the good relations between the missionaries and the authorities, a crisis unfortunately arose within the missionary circles which entirely destroyed the hopeful

[1] The writer does not know the authority for the statement in C. H. Robinson's *History of Christian Missions*, p. 175, that 'The Jesuits obtained leave in 1615 to celebrate Mass in Chinese.'

promise of Christian progress. We must return to the consideration of the lines laid down by Ricci, and look into the controversy of the Confucian rites.

We ought to put the question before ourselves in a manner devoid of ambiguity. It is altogether a misrepresentation if any one assert that the Jesuits permitted heathen ceremonies, for this by implication states that they tolerated rites which they knew to be heathen. It is, however, very legitimate to argue that they permitted rites which as a matter of fact were associated with heathen ideas in the minds of the Chinese Christians, although the Jesuits did not realize this. Jesuits may make mistakes as other people do. But if the whole matter in dispute were whether or not certain tolerated customs were dangerous to the purity of the Christian Faith, and ought to be discouraged and if necessary forbidden, lest the future development of the Church in China should be imperilled, there does not seem just cause for all the bitter strife that arose. Portuguese and French Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans, were all necessarily of one mind that if a certain practice actually encouraged Chinese Christians to indulge in ancestor worship, or to retain such notions of family continuity as are inconsistent with the faith of Christ, it must be forbidden. They might therefore easily have interrogated their converts, and have compared together the conclusions at which they arrived.

It is easy enough to understand why Catholics and Arians had been in deadly strife. The Catholics were convinced that the Arians in effect denied the deity of Jesus Christ ; the Arians believed that the Catholics were guilty of blasphemous treatment of the ineffable Godhead. It is easy to understand why Catholics and Protestants were bitter

enemies. The Catholics believed that the Protestants were destroying the very Body of Christ; the Protestants believed that the Catholics were guilty of idolatry. But this protracted dispute in China turned on a question of fact. Did or did not certain concessions to Chinese ideas and practices cause the Chinese Christians to hold the faith of Christ imperfectly?

It will be seen, as must already have been surmised, that all this unhappy strife was closely related to entirely different matters, and that to a large extent the Confucian rites were merely the chosen battle ground. But in putting it thus baldly, we do not deny that, with whatever confidence any one may assert that Ricci decided wisely at the moment, it was quite right that later missionaries should review his judgement in the light of experience. It would not even reflect upon the character of Ricci, if a century later the Jesuits were to have decided to change his policy in this respect, and to give as their reasons that further investigation had proved that Ricci had been misinformed as to the significance of these customs, which were now known to be religious and not merely national, and that it was by this time clear that the Chinese Christians were tempted by them to retain beliefs inconsistent with the purity of the faith. Or it might have been very rationally argued that if all Christians had had the advantage of being taught by Ricci, they would doubtless have been able to continue these ancient practices without damage to themselves; but that as so much instruction had had to be given by Chinese catechists, themselves not too well grounded in the faith, and not assuredly delivered from their pre-Christian views of life, it was no longer safe to permit these rites which were so liable to misdirect the mind.

Before we unfold the miserable complications of this protracted dispute, let us look at the situation as it might strike missionaries even though there were no other ground of quarrel. Every one who has inside acquaintance with foreign missions knows that the newcomer has a tendency to put the old hands right. The newcomer is more up to date ; he has the benefit of the most recent training, and he knows the newest theories. If these Confucian rites were in dispute to-day, one can well imagine that the latest batch of missionaries would either recommend the use of auto-suggestion to the Christians to secure that they should have the right mentality towards them, or would apply psycho-analysis to find out whether the Chinese were subconsciously worshipping Confucius. A few years ago the newcomers would have discussed the question as an interesting case of pragmatism.

The newcomers of the times of which we are thinking had not the inestimable advantage, however, of being up to date. But nevertheless they were newcomers, and they formed their own impressions. They came out from home, where everything to which they were accustomed was necessarily right ; they found in China certain uses which were not what they had previously known, and these uses were an approximation in appearance to Confucianism, and Confucianism was of the devil. Now they might in course of time have learnt better, if every one of the old hands was agreed that this concession was merely social and national. They might have come to see that it was only like wearing a pig-tail, or having a novel way of giving salutation. But they found that some of the old hands were not satisfied, and in fact that there were serious differences of opinion.

Even so, time might have rectified affairs.

Gradually the truth would have prevailed. The Chinese Christians would have convinced the foreign missionaries that they were absolutely sound in the faith, or the growing conviction of the missionaries would have culminated in the rejection of these observances. But there was another influence at work. The Jesuits were drawn to China by the glamour of the name of Ricci, and they were proud of their Society's work. Loyalty to the Society would make it difficult to believe that anything that Ricci had done could be a misjudgement. We have even heard in England of congregations that think that nothing that the late dear vicar did must be changed. But not all the missionaries were Jesuits, and these others might be less strongly affected by unconscious predilection in favour of Ricci's decisions.

We can, then, imagine that on a question so liable to difference of opinion, and one so calling for continual revision in the light of experience, even good men might take sides as they happened to be Jesuits or non-Jesuits. Nor is it difficult to realize that such a difference might lead to some heat. Religious and Seculars have been known at times to find causes of friction, High Churchmen and Low Churchmen have even sometimes had a tendency to take different lines on matters which do not seem vitally to concern their respective principles. And charity requires that we do not forget that the missionaries only reached China more dead than alive after their appalling journeys, that the conditions of life were very trying, that there was the new language to learn, and that it was possible even for a missionary who had come out for life to suffer from homesickness.

All these things have to be borne in mind. But there is a curious cross current which has not yet

been mentioned. It was not that all the Jesuits took one view, and all the Dominicans and Franciscans the other. We might have understood that, and have decided the dispute in our own minds somewhat after this fashion ; the Jesuits were unconsciously influenced by loyalty to their predecessors, and the other Orders were unconsciously biassed by their jealousy of the Jesuits. But the quarrel tended to develop on national lines ; the Portuguese, who for the most part were Jesuits, took the side of following Ricci, and the others, who for the most part were Franciscans and Dominicans, but included Jesuits of other countries than Portugal, took the other side. This throws new light on the trouble as it developed ; it is no longer possible to regard it as a difference of judgement on a difficult point of Church ruling.

Papal dispensations permitted the King of Portugal to exercise considerable royal authority in ecclesiastical matters ; papal decrees had to be promulgated in Portuguese territory by the King's permission, and were not in force until so promulgated ; a bishop could not exercise his office without royal consent. China was within the sphere allotted by the Papacy to Portugal, and yet correspondence was passing between China and Rome, and finally a papal legate was sent to China, without having the authorization of the King of Portugal.[1]

The fact is that Rome was early acquainted with these disputable concessions to Confucian practices. Missionaries from the Philippines—a Spanish possession—gave information that the Jesuits permitted idolatry and concealed the mysteries of the Cross. As is usual when people get worked up, other issues were dragged in. It was

[1] This matter is referred to again in Chapter vi.

said that the word adopted by the Jesuits for the Christian designation of the deity did not fitly express the God to Whom Christians attribute the characteristic qualities of personality.

These early skirmishes might perhaps have passed by quietly and have become forgotten in the stress of persecution. Unfortunately the quarrel was renewed later in the seventeenth century by a Dominican, Navarette or Navarrete, for both spellings are found. Then Mgr. Maigrot, the Bishop of Conon, and Vicar-General of the province of Fuh-kien, intervened with consummate lack of common sense, and pronounced judgement on all the points adversely to the Jesuits. He knew very little Chinese, but he did know that the Chinese Emperor had approved of the Jesuit interpretation of the Confucian rites, and that the Jesuits would bitterly resent an exercise of papal authority by one who had not the Portuguese permission to rule over them. But if Mgr. Maigrot was rash and high-handed, the Jesuits were not less in fault, for they made most un-Christian use of their favoured position with the Chinese court, and from now onwards they leaned upon Chinese support in what had become an ecclesiastical crisis.

The popes must very much have regretted having been dragged into this dispute, and they were at great disadvantage. They could not possibly be in possession of all the facts ; they received *ex-parte* presentations of the dispute ; they could not well adjudicate on Chinese words. We have reached now to about the end of the seventeenth century, and it was no longer possible to fall back on the name of Ricci or on the difficulties of his circumstances. We need not say that the Jesuits were deliberately conceding to the Chinese what they knew to be most unsafe for the Christians ; but we must ack-

nowledge that they were unjustifiably closing their minds to dangers that others could see. We acknowledge that it is very galling to human nature to admit that one's opponents have made out a good case, when they are presenting it in the most provocative manner ; but there is such a thing as the grace of God, and one does look for this supernatural gift among missionaries on whom is resting the life of a young Church.

The Jesuits ought to have discovered, before it was pointed out to them by others, that the various compromises that were tolerated were dangerous to immature Christians. They were making it almost fatally easy for a man to become a Christian and to remain a non-Christian at heart. But their position was badly compromised by their relations with the Chinese court. It was certainly a strange situation when those responsible for the purity of the Christian Faith relied on Confucian authority for proof that Confucian customs can safely be followed by Christians ; and, however plausibly it is put, that is what it came to. But when we pass to the question of behaviour, the answer seems to be that when the quarrel had developed both sides behaved about as badly as could be. We turn now to the last chapter of this unhappy controversy.

In a later chapter we shall become better acquainted with the evil results of the papal concessions to Portugal, which had tied the hands of the Papacy in its missionary work, and from which restrictions the Société des Missions Étrangères was the main agency in freeing the Holy See. A valuable presentation of the Dominican and Franciscan case was printed in Cologne in 1699 under the title of *Apologie des Dominicains Missionaires de la Chine, ou réponse au Livre du Père Le Tellier*

Jesuite. It contains a useful collection of correspondence, and throughout its pages the reader is aware of the jealousy between the older Orders and the Jesuits. The Dominicans rely a great deal on Navarette, whose *Tratados históricos*, published in Europe, had caused great excitement. On the other hand the Jesuits tell an unfavourable story of his escape from prison, which endangered the lives of all the other Christians who were in gaol. When his book reached China in 1668, a Dominican named Sarpetri, of Sicily, wrote a strong defence of the Jesuits; and the *Apologie des Dominicains* consequently sneers at his ignorance, and publishes a long attestation from Navarette to the effect that no one should pay attention to him, because of his ignorance, presumption, conceit, absurdity, incapacity, partiality to the Jesuits, and private grievances against his own brethren.

The Dominican view is bluntly that the Jesuits permitted 'their Christians' to render cultus to Confucius and to the dead, not merely by profound obeisances, but also by oblations, sacrifices, prayers, and prostrations before the tablets in which the Chinese believed that the Spirit of Confucius or of the Ancestors was present; and that, on the other hand, the Dominicans and Franciscans, from preaching the Gospel in its purity, suffered great persecutions. But while the European Dominicans had no hesitation in deciding this perplexing question, the author of the *Apologie* admits that a Chinese member of his Society, of whom he writes as kindly and charitably as Navarette writes ungenerously of Sarpetri, was more nearly in agreement with the Jesuits. This man was Gregoire Lopez, who was converted at the age of thirty, and became Bishop of Basilea, and Vicar-Apostolic

of many provinces of China, and then titular Bishop of Peking. One would like to know more of this man, who seems to have been a veritable apostle of his people. He had written a short treatise in Chinese in 1645, which was translated into Latin by a Franciscan. ' The good bishop did not know enough Latin to write or speak in it. All he could do was to say Mass in it.' The substance of this letter is very illuminative, and seems to show how Ricci and others can have been so determined in their view, and why this view met with strong dissent. The most learned people of China are practically atheists, and they do not associate with these rites anything more than social and patriotic ideas ; but the more ignorant people ' believe these errors, that is to say, that their ancestors have more power than they had when they were alive, and that they can do good to and turn away evils from their families.' There is the same distinction between the learned and the popular view of Confucianism.

It fell at last to the Society of the Missions Étrangères to bring this conflict to a conclusion, after several popes had handled it with an ineffectualness which well illustrates the contradictory evidence with which they were supplied. Doubtless Pope Clement XI would have been very glad to let the matter drop, had not Mgr. Maigrot brought it to a head. It was not agreeable to quarrel with the Jesuits, and it is never pleasant to rebuke hard-working missionaries who are risking their lives. He was probably made aware that if these customs were forbidden all the missionaries would be expelled, and the Christian Church of China be brought to an end. So in 1701 he determined to send a special legate with ample authority. His choice fell on Charles Maillard de

Tournon, a younger son of the Marquis de Tournon, a Savoyard. In some respects it was a good choice, although it turned out unhappily. It is a pleasure to select from his correspondence his criticism of the African slave-trade as he saw it on his voyage; *il barbaro commercio della compra de Neri.*

The heated condition of every one's blood may be judged from the fact that when de Tournon was seized with colic pains, possibly cholera, it was seriously believed that the Jesuits had tried to poison him. It is hateful to know that the whole quarrel had to be fought out in the presence of the Confucian Emperor, and that the Jesuits were not above misusing their privileged position. From 1704–1706 the fires of controversy blazed.

De Tournon saw some facts very clearly. He reported, ' I am moved humbly to present that the original foundation of the controversies is this, that the Portuguese do not want any one to come hither without passing through Portugal and submitting himself to the laws of that kingdom, from which has arisen the first repugnances (*disgusti*) against the French Fathers, notwithstanding that they are brethren of the same Society.' That side of the quarrel could not be put into plainer language.

It is not surprising that the Chinese Emperor decided entirely in favour of the Portuguese Jesuits, whose policy had all along been approved by the *literati*. Henceforth no foreign missionary was to reside in China unless he obtained letters patent from the Emperor on personal application at Peking. De Tournon, defeated, broken-hearted, ill, lay in Macao, virtually a Chinese prisoner, hated by the merchants whose commerce was impeded by anti-foreign feeling. One gleam of pleasure lighted up his death-bed. He received the

Cardinal's hat. Hurling excommunications right and left, he died in 1710.

Although the imperial decision had been a complete triumph for the Portuguese, the work of the mission never recovered from the moral consequences of this unseemly quarrel. Persecutions broke out from time to time, especially in the province of Fuh-kien, and at such times there was a revival of anti-foreign feeling which wreaked its vengeance on the Jesuits. They were imprisoned, tortured, and put to death. The Chinese Christians who attempted to hide them suffered death also. In 1723 a new Emperor expelled the missionaries, three hundred churches were destroyed, and three hundred thousand Christians were left unshepherded. In 1736 there was a fresh outbreak, and again in 1746. From time to time a European missionary slipped back at the peril of his life. Sometimes the presence of the foreign missionaries was winked at, so long as they kept quiet and only secretly ministered to the faithful.

Our story of the foundation of the Mission to China has been told, and the humiliating sequel that cannot be separated from the name of Ricci. To bring this history to a close is to summarize the fortunes of the Society of Jesus. It was suppressed in Portugal in 1759, in France in 1764 and more thoroughly in 1767, and finally the whole society was suppressed in 1773 by the bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*. But some of its missionaries continued their labours in countries beyond the reach of a sovereign who could order their expulsion. Thus a few of them remained in China until they were relieved by the Lazarists in 1783, and even later some of them were to be found living in brotherly harmony with them. A new Emperor

coming to the throne in 1796 was still less well disposed either to foreigners or to Christians, and the French Revolution had stopped the further supply of Lazarists. Macao, however, always remained as a base.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century an entirely new situation opened by the arrival of Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society in 1807. A slight link connects the old and the new, for Morrison's first Chinese teachers were members of the Roman Catholic Church. The Lazarists took up again the old line of missionary work, and in course of time were joined by Pére Huc.[1] With two such names, so different in their histories, each eminent in his own line, we take leave of China with the mention of a greater name than either of them.

In 1699 Leibnitz published *Novissima Sinica*, containing his correspondence with the Jesuit scientists in China. Ricci's manner of missionary approach naturally appealed to a man of whom it has been said that he was ' of almost universal attainments and almost universal genius.' But he was aware of the troubles, and his last words were, ' God grant that our joy in this behalf may be solid and permanent, and that it may not be disturbed by the imprudent zeal or internal dissensions of men engaged in the apostolic office, or by the evil examples of our own people.'

[1] See Huc and Gabet, *Travels in Tartary, Tibet, and China*, 1844–46. 2 vols.

CHAPTER IV

ROBERT DE NOBILI

THE impetus given to discovery by Prince Henry the Navigator suffered only a temporary check by his death in 1460. Bartolomé Diaz sailed round the southern point of the African continent (1486), to which the name Cape of Good Hope was given. Men were confident that at last the way to India had been discovered, and that the wealth of the East would soon be snatched out of the hands of the Arabs. Then Christopher Columbus discovered America, and the New World was divided between Spain and Portugal, which two countries were charged to take in hand the evangelization of the pagans (1492–94). Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on the Malabar coast in 1498, and it is said that a certain Trinitarian Father preached there with results that are not known. In 1500 Cabral discovered Brazil and arrived at Calicut the same year. Some Franciscans attempted to preach, and suffered death in the disturbances that were raised against the Portuguese. Their Superior, badly wounded, retired to Cochin under the protection of Cabral. In 1505 the King of Portugal ordered the erection of a Franciscan convent at Cananore and at Negapaṭam ; but nothing was done. But Albuquerque had obtained leave to establish a Portuguese fort in reward for services which he had rendered to

the King of Cochin, and in 1510 he took Goa ; the next year he took Malacca.[1]

The importance of Goa, as the centre of Portuguese influence and of ecclesiastical authority in India, calls for some attention ; and then we must pass on to a summary of the evangelistic work that was done before the arrival of the Jesuits in Madura. Albuquerque changed the whole policy of his country. Hitherto the commercial interests of Portugal had been regarded as sufficiently protected by naval supremacy along the coast ; henceforth it was to be secured by holding portions of the land as trading centres. A footing had been obtained in India, and Portugal was watched with suspicion from the time that a strong and centralizing Indian government had established itself in Delhi. Akbar, whose reign almost coincided with that of Elizabeth, was jealous of the Europeans in Goa, fearing that they might forestall him in the conquest of the Deccan.

To understand the action of the Portuguese in Goa, one must have some idea of their mental equipment. Hatred of the Jew and of the Moslem was regarded as a mark of religious fervour ; the one had rejected and crucified the divine Saviour, and the other was the follower of ' The false prophet.' National history had brought the Portuguese into close contact with both these religions ; the commercial rivals of Portugal were Moors and Arabs ; the Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1453, and were a menace to Christendom. But the Portuguese had not such close acquaintance with ' the heathen,' or pagans, an indefinite term

[1] For the outlines of the history of the Portuguese in India see *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. iv, chap. 1. Albuquerque died at Goa in 1515, Vasco da Gama at Cochin in 1525.

that came to cover the savage 'Indians' of the New World and the higher religions of the ancient East. They were regarded as ignorant rather than obstinate, as people who knew no better rather than as those who had rejected Christ. They were consequently the proper field for evangelization; and Almighty God was giving this great heathen world to the King of Portugal in order that he might bring it to Christ. The Pope had definitely charged the country with this duty, and the Religious Orders were zealous to be the agents alike of the Holy See and of the King. The Jesuits were not in existence when Goa fell to Portugal; but they were soon to make their entry into the country in the person of Francis Xavier.

In India the Portuguese found two dominant religions. One of them was Islam, about which their minds were already made up; the other was new to them, and they could only form a general impression of it as 'idolatry.' As such its adherents were to be pitied and to be enlightened. But the Portuguese were a proud race, and their history had given a certain coldness, even cruelty, to their character, apart from the sense of an almost divine right to rule, which the recent discoveries of old and new parts of the world was, perhaps unavoidably, impressing upon them. One has heard it said—doubtless most unwarrantably—that even in these enlightened days the British are inclined to think that the world belongs to them, or at any rate that they could manage it better than any one else. It is, therefore, not surprising, if in the sixteenth century the Portuguese could not help thinking that the people of Goa should believe and behave as the superior beings from Europe dictated, and that they were disobedient children if they kept to their old ways. This is, perhaps, as

generous an apology as can be made for the errors of the early years in India. What next must be urged, cannot be regarded as an excuse other than as one which is applicable in all ages under similar conditions, as for example for the Spaniards in the New World, for the Belgians on the Congo, for the British in various parts of the world at different times. To plant a smaller body of people, with a higher culture, in the midst of a race that is treated as inferior, but which by reason of its numbers will be a source of danger if not kept duly subordinate, tends naturally to the degeneracy of the higher civilization.

As soon as the Portuguese were established in Goa, intense bitterness was stirred up against them on account of their implacable hatred of the Mohammedan religion. The Hindu followers were treated very differently; yet they too were to suffer later. Albuquerque deliberately encouraged inter-racial marriage. The Portuguese sailors and handicraftsmen married Hindu women, who thereupon became good Catholics in proper submission to their husbands. In due course there were many lapses from Catholicism, which greatly shocked the Portuguese, who were well versed in the treatment of lapsed Moors and Jews in their own country. It was deemed necessary in 1560 to introduce the Inquisition, an ecclesiastical institution that everywhere has brought out the worst elements of Portuguese and Spanish character. The whole system is so utterly repulsive to us in these days, that we are unable to comprehend that it could have been tolerated; we can only partly explain it by the centuries of struggle to rid their countries of Jews and Moors. In India the Inquisition was something new.

Rapid deterioration of moral character was

another evil feature of life in Goa. The conditions here were different from those of the Portuguese who had migrated to the West Indies or South America, and there was nothing to compare with the inhuman conduct practised in the New World from wanton cruelty; but somewhat similar causes of licentiousness prevailed. One must name these dark features of the first appearance of the Christian religion in India; but they do not present the whole situation. The city became also a centre for the Religious Orders, a city of churches, religious houses and schools; and these excellent agencies were extended to other Portuguese stations. They did not, however, accomplish all the good that was intended; for there were great errors in their regulation, due to inexperience of the work, and incapacity to modify European rules and customs. The whole method of conversion was such that the higher castes, and especially the Brahmans, conceived an intense hatred of Christianity. The compulsory eating of meat, and the identification of Christianity with Portugal, to the extent that 'to Christianize' and 'to Portugalize' became synonyms, will sufficiently account for this hatred, which was intensified by an increasing intolerance towards Hinduism within the area of Portuguese control. The primitive zeal languished, when voluntary conversion did not proceed at the pace that was hoped for by ardent men, who felt that the truth of the Christian religion ought to have convinced the people, and who, perhaps unconsciously, also thought that the superiority of the *frangi*[1] should have been obvious to the Indians.

[1] Sanscrit *Phirangin*, Persian *Frangi*, was first applied to the Portuguese, and then extended to other European nations as they became known to the Orientals. The word, originally

Goa was become a Catholic base in India, a centre of civil power, and the seat of an archbishopric. Even in the early days Albuquerque had made the practice of Suttee, or burning of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre, illegal in Portuguese territory, anticipating by three centuries the suppression of it by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. If one is attentive to observe it, there is to be found in every one of these sketches evidence that policies, which we are inclined to regard as modern, have been adopted in one place or another by these earlier missions. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular was common to all missions among people who had a written language; las Casas struggled to save his Indians from the ruinous effects of 'strong waters,' and, if the period of the French missions to Canada were not so strictly limited as to cover only the lifetime of Brébeuf, we should find the Jesuits as zealous as any modern missionary in West Afria to suppress the trade in bad spirits; it will be seen that in that same mission it was soon realized that the girls must receive attention in order to become fit wives of the Christian youths; the alienation of land from the people was as burning a question in the days of Philip II of Spain as at the present time; alike in China and India, whatever judgement may be passed on method, it cannot be denied that the missionaries sought to have a sympathetic understanding of the inherited culture, habits, and life of ancient civilization.

The portion of Southern India, with which this

opprobrious, is become a common term in the East for all Europeans, and is frequently, but erroneously, supposed to be associated with the word 'France,' and to be extended by application to other Western nations.

chapter is chiefly concerned, was at the time of de Nobili in a state of great disorder. Moslem or Hindu Rajahs, or petty kings, occupied small territories, and were in constant war with one another. What the Portuguese could not accustom themselves to, was that outside their own possessions in India they could not exercise control, or claim Portuguese protection for the Christians. Their tendency was to act with a high hand, and to forget that in Madura and other parts of the extreme south they were not in Goa. It is unfortunately not an exaggeration to say that they were making themselves thoroughly hated, a fact to be remembered when one finds de Nobili insisting on the literal truth that he was not a *frangi* (i.e. a Portuguese).

A very different condition prevailed at this time in Northern India, where the rise of the Moghul Empire, whatever suffering it may have involved upon the people of India, ushered in a period of great glory. Babur, descended from the redoubtable Tamerlane (Timur), and claiming through his mother to share in the blood of Jenghiz Khan, had secured his throne in Kabul only as a starting point from which to emulate the achievements of Alexander the Great. Before his death he was master of Delhi and Agra. Within four years of coming to his throne, Akbar recovered all that his grandfather Babur had won, and proceeded, during a long reign, to extend his rule much further. Thus the great line of the Moghul kings was firmly established, which reached its pinnacle of glory under Aurungzeb (died 1707), just when the Maratha power was beginning in the person of Sivaji.

Akbar's reign (1556–1605) marks the beginning of the glorious architecture of Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur-Sikri. Popular legends of his religious

inquisitiveness have given rise to an exaggerated impression that he was an enlightened philosopher. ' The old notion that Akbar was a near approximation to Plato's philosopher-king has been dissipated by modern researches.' [1] Yet, in spite of his Mongol blood, it would be equally one-sided to look upon him as a revival of his notorious ancestor. The old and the new were strangely blended in him. He sought to suppress Suttee ; religiously his mind struggled in Oriental form almost in the same way as a Western victim of the Renaissance ; he was remarkably free from some of the prejudices and convictions of his age ; he was a ruler with a large vision and with great political ambitions. We shall hear of him again, when the time of the Jesuits in India has been reached, to prepare for whom the fitting introduction is a brief survey of the history of Christianity in India.

From an indefinitely early period, which they themselves confidently assign to the lifetime of the Apostles, Christians had existed in Southern India. They are spoken of as the Christians of S.Thomas, or as the Malabar Christians, or as the Syrian Christians. At one time they had been brought into close contact with the Christians of Persia, and had adopted their language, liturgies, and episcopal orders. They did not live in what became Portuguese possessions, but under native Rajahs in the hinterland of the coast running from Calicut to Quilon, and were said to number more than two hundred thousand persons. They were tolerated in the midst of Hindu and Moslem states as a separate people with its own religion, on the understanding that they did not proselytise. Nor

[1] Introduction to Hoyland's translation of the commentary of Father Monserrate.

were they conscious of any defect in their Christianity, being blissfully ignorant of Western Christianity with its papal claims and with its estimation of Nestorianism as a heresy. The very existence of these people was unknown to Europe when the Portuguese entered India ; and although S. Francis Xavier recognized the duty of reconciling them, he did not undertake the task.

In describing the Portuguese beginnings in Goa and along the coast the second stage has been reached. The reports that reached Portugal were disquieting, both as regards the behaviour of the Europeans and their neglect of the Indian converts. Thus it was that John III invited the new society of the Jesuits to go to the aid of the Franciscans and Dominicans. S. Ignatius selected three members ; but two of them were retained in Europe to fill important posts, and only Francis Xavier started in 1541. His life henceforth became as marvellous a record as exists in the annals of missionary history. In all he spent only four and a half years in India, and left Goa in a sad muddle. But criticism is hushed when his name is mentioned. He must be accepted, as S. Francis of Assisi is accepted. His whole life reveals his evangelical fervour, and a simple faith that was entirely unworldly. His career is an almost unbroken series of marvellous conversions. No one could resist him, except the Portuguese who hung on the outskirts of China. His first appearance in Goa produced a great effect on the moral condition of the Portuguese, which was not more enduring than that of a modern parochial mission for which there has been no preparation, and which is not diligently followed up.[1] The Jesuits were in a position to

[1] Perhaps a comparison may be permitted between S. Francis Xavier in Goa and Savonarola half a century earlier in Florence.

make response to S. Francis's severe reports of the situation, and their numbers increased.

In his newly-built palace of Fatehpur-Sikri, near Agra, Akbar was in the habit of holding religious discussions with Hindus, Moslems, Jains, and Parsees ; he was aware of the advances of the Portuguese, and was uneasy about them. Merchants visited him from time to time, and unconsciously served his ends by giving him information, while the King's mind was hidden from them. In 1580 Fathers Rodolfe Aquaviva, Antoine de Montserrat, and François Henriqués were sent to Akbar in response to an invitation, and presented him with a copy of the Holy Scriptures in six volumes and in four languages. Their visit was not prolonged, because the unsettled state of the country, and the King's frequent absences on military expeditions, interfered with the calm of religious symposiums.

A second deputation (1590–92) was followed by a third in 1594. Father Hierosme Xavier Navarrois was a nephew of S. Francis, and had translated the Gospels into Persian. With him were Father Emmanuel Pignero (or Pinheiro) and Brother Benoist Goës (Bento de Goës). This last is one of the great travellers of that time. He proceeded from Lahore to the borders of China, journeying by way of Kabul to the plateau of the Pamir, and thence onward to Yorkand and Khotan. Parts of his diary were preserved by his Armenian servant and handed over to Father Ricci at Canton. Sven Hadin, in his scientific results of a journey in Central Asia (1899–1902), writes that ' over the interior of a vast Asiatic continent there hovered a pale reflection, faint and shadowy, of the journeys of Marco Polo and the old Jesuits.'[1] Unfortunately

[1] C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721.*

the seventeenth century did not produce a Basil Mathews, to make every schoolboy familiar with the heroic adventures of the missionaries.

This third deputation to the court of Akbar lasted for some years, and is the source of the evangelistic enterprises of Northern India. The oriental mind of Akbar is too subtle for analysis. The Jesuits were an intellectual resource to him, and their presence was flattering; he probably relished their independence of character. A recent writer, who has made a close study of original authorities, has decided that both Akbar and the Jesuits were moved alike by political as well as religious motives. He thinks that Akbar wanted to keep himself acquainted with Portuguese affairs at Goa, and watched with jealousy their advance in the Deccan. Of the Jesuits he writes that 'we have only to read the letters they wrote during this period to realize how completely their religious duties outweighed those (i.e. political) and all other considerations.'[1]

There were some Christian results from these visits. Liberty was given to the Jesuits to preach, and Lahore became the centre of evangelistic work, tolerated by Akbar's successors, and which extended to Agra. Even before this time the Portuguese had established a merchant store on the Hoogli, where the high-handed conduct of the merchants was to provoke hostility and cause their trade to be destroyed. During the first third of the seventeenth century the Christians had in consequence to endure some persecution.

Robert de Nobili was born in 1577 at Montepulciano, in Tuscany. He was of an illustrious

[1] *Akbar and the Jesuits*, translated from Father Pierre du Jarric, S.J., by C. H. Payne.

family. Pope Julius III was uncle of Vincenzo de Nobili, Robert's grandfather. Cardinal Robert de Nobili, son of Vincenzo, and uncle of the Jesuit father, was esteemed at the papal court for his holiness,[1] and had desired to enter the Society. Possibly there was some influence unconsciously exercised by him on the young Robert, whose determination to become a Jesuit was sufficiently strong to overcome parental opposition. In 1597 he became a novice, and pursued his philosophical and theological studies at Naples and Rome. In a list of the year 1601 of those who in the Neapolitan province petitioned to be sent to India, one may read, *Robertus Nobilius Romanus, annorum 24, in Societate quatuor. Studet physica. Videtur maturiori spiritu indigere.* He still had to bear down the opposition of his family. His future character was already foreshadowed by his manner of overcoming the consideration due from a Christian son to his parents' wishes. ' Where one is acting in obedience to the divine call, one cannot let oneself be turned by anybody.' He left Lisbon in 1604, and reached Goa in May of the next year. In a letter to the Marquis don Gregorio Boncompagno, a member of the family, he has given a description of the journey. Of the five vessels that left the Portuguese port, three turned back ; when the Cape of Good Hope was reached, its reputation for ' terrible tempests and shipwrecks ' was not maintained. But before they arrived at the island of Mozambique, the passengers were to endure the horrors of anticipated shipwreck, and they were glad enough to stay there for five months. Here they took on board the Viceroy, who died of sickness. Robert

[1] The best modern authorities reject Marcellus II and Cardinal Bellarmin from the family circle, although the latter was born in Montepulciano.

landed at Goa, and after a period of some months of ill health was sent on to the college at Cochin, where he very nearly died from fever. By 1607, when he wrote this letter, he had already been sent to the fisheries' coast and to Madura, 'a large town and the capital of this kingdom.' 'Our fathers have not succeeded in making a single conversion although they have been here for twelve years; the most they have been able to do has been to baptize a few *in articulo mortis*. In viewing this lack of success, I have been moved by fear; but, knowing that a work undertaken in obedience can never be in vain, I have put my whole heart into my task.' [1]

When S. Francis was in India, he had been discouraged by the condition of things in Goa, a fact to be borne in mind when one remembers his restlessness, and that he urged upon the authorities the application of stringent methods in dealing with the situation. But there was a colony of poor fisherfolk on the extreme southern coast, east of Cape Comorin. Some of the Portuguese had protected them against the pirates, who harassed these shores, and they had recommended them to the Franciscans, who attended to their conversion. S. Francis had found relief in working among them; and since his day a number of these Paravan Christians had moved inland up to Madura, and had become the occasion of the opening of the Madura mission, where Father Gonsalve Fernandez was now working.

The city of Madura was the capital of a Hindu kingdom of that name, and was a stronghold of Brahman learning, and the seat of a large Brahman university or school. De Nobili in a letter written in 1610 has given a description of the full course

[1] Taken from Dahmen's *Un Jésuite Brahme*.

of philosophy, science, and religion taught there ; he originally wrote that there was eleven thousand students, divided into classes of two or three hundred ; but a correction has been made in the text, leaving it uncertain whether one ought to read one thousand, or ten thousand. The middle of the sixteenth century had seen the establishment of the Nayak dynasty, which was at its height during the time of de Nobili, and was adorning the city with public buildings, and by military successes was extending its sway over Tinnevelly, Travancore, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, and Salem.[1] But as at an earlier period the Moslems had exercised authority only for a time, so from the middle of the seventeenth century the Nayak dynasty began to decay and the province was then invaded by Moslems and Mahrattas.

Gradually de Nobili felt his way. He knew that the Portuguese were hated ; the fact that the Paravas were of a very low caste was alone sufficient to prevent the Brahmans from considering the merits of their missionaries' religious claims. But the citadel of Hinduism would not fall while the Brahman system was not attacked ; and it was to these seats of the mighty that de Nobili determined to devote his life. He presented himself as a sort of Italian rajah, not a Portuguese or *frangi*, but, as he truly was, a Roman aristocrat. He assumed the position of a *sanyassi*, which was also a near equivalent to his vocation as a Jesuit. He separated himself from Fernandez, and built

[1] The *Oxford History of India* states that 'The most important of the principalities formed by Hindus in the far south out of the fragments of the Vijayanagar Empire was that of the Nayaks of Madura. Tirumala Nayak is justly celebrated for his buildings, which exhibit much dignity of design and splendour in execution.'

a church and dwelling-place in the Brahman quarters under royal protection. His diet was rice, milk, herbs, and water, of which he partook once a day. He adopted the Brahman dress, only substituting for the cord one of five strands, three in gold and two in silver, with a crucifix suspended. He explained these by reference to the Blessed Trinity, the body and soul of the sacred humanity of Jesus Christ, and the Cross to recall His Passion and Death.

His studies, pursued at first under great difficulties, progressed until he became a complete master of Tamil and Telegu, and a good Sanscrit scholar. He made himself familiar with the ancient writings, and conceived a great devotion to the Vedas. In these ways he made himself respected by the class which he sought to convert. As Ricci approached the learned men of China by starting from the purest teaching of Confucian ethic, so de Nobili found common ground in the highest metaphysic of Hinduism. Nothing can be further from the truth than to think of popular Hinduism, as practised by the people, and to suppose that it was to this that de Nobili was paying respect.

To us there seems to be something beyond pious 'accommodation' in his adoption of the distinguishing threads of the Brahman, the marks on the forehead, the rigid diet, and the social exclusiveness. There is something sinister about caste, something essentially contrary to the very doctrine of Christ. If it is impossible to preach both to the Brahman and the outcaste, we would choose the latter, and leave the issue in God's hands; but we have not lived in the centre of Brahman scholarship in the early part of the seventeenth century. To think of de Nobili as an aristocratic missionary, throwing in his lot with the Brahmans of India, as we now

understand its caste, is about as near to the facts of the case as to criticize the monks of Lindisfarne on the ground that it is unreasonable to suppose that the Bishop of Newcastle and his clergy ought to live on Holy Island.

But there is common ground between de Nobili and our own day, if we will choose it. There is, as there was, the great problem of the conversion of India. How is it to be brought about? There are strong advocates for concentration upon the outcastes, who are seemingly drawn to Christ in mass movements. There are others who, regarding India in a more statesmanlike manner, say that to neglect the educated classes would be a short-sighted policy, in that it would produce a Christian Church of India very much below the intellectual level of the country. It is sound enough to say that neither element should be neglected; but one man can only devote his life to one of them. De Nobili must choose the Paravas or the Brahmans. This is a reasonable way to approach any just estimate of de Nobili's life-work. He became the Dr. Duff of the seventeenth century. His work was educational, in a centre of education in South India. He was the precursor of our modern missionary institutions in Delhi and Agra and elsewhere.

But he was also to anticipate another method of modern missionaries. There are those to-day who, realizing that Western Christianity does not make a favourable impression on the Oriental mind, cast longing eyes on some form of Indian presentation. It may be a young American, attempting to reproduce a Franciscan ideal and to adapt it to Indian conditions; it may be an English group associating itself with Indians and making itself Indian in order to save India. De

Nobili, posing, as we may say, as a Brahman, while the Portuguese were making their impression of Christianity on the Indians, and other missionaries were following methods entirely different from his, was not more deceptive, or less difficult of apprehension, than these modern efforts of Christian Indian brotherhood in the face of the British officials, the Army, and the commercial class, who make up the material from which India forms its notion of Christianity, together with the general impression of the normal missionary society. If de Nobili is to be condemned out of hand, we ought to reject similarly these modern efforts to get at the heart of India apart from Western ecclesiasticism.

Nor is it just to the memory of de Nobili to allow oneself to suppose that he was indifferent to the Paravas, or desired that the work among them should be discontinued. With his own vocation to be followed, he could not himself share in this other work ; but he was a devoted friend of Father Fernandez,[1] although he separated himself from his society. It was de Nobili who pleaded for special help for these people of the lower castes, and in response to whose appeal Father de Costa was sent as a Pariah *Sanyassi*, or a *Pandâra*, one who, while cut off from communication with the higher classes, was respected as a penitent and an ascetic. We may abbreviate a report of his work, written by his own hand: The pariahs, to whom we more especially devote ourselves, are to be found everywhere ; and to minister to the Christians of this class does not altogether prevent us from making a good many converts from higher castes. Since I arrived here, I have never spent more than two months in the same place ; I gener-

[1] Father Fernandez afterwards voiced the Paravan opposition to de Nobili.

ally travel on foot, in the midst of the burning heat, and often without coming across any poor dwelling place in which to pass the night ; but in spite of all these disadvantages and privations, I have never been in better health. ' To supply the deficiency of missionaries, we are using the zeal of our neophytes, who are full of ardour to propagate the holy Gospel. We have just appointed some of them, exclusively devoted to the guidance of the Christians and the conversion of the heathen ; and, to let them give themselves entirely to this holy work, we give them a little monthly allowance for themselves and their families.' He adds that he is copying the experiment from the practice of the Jesuits in Japan. ' Since my return to Trichinopoly, I have baptized more than a hundred catechumens, and I am now preparing more than fifty. . . . My strength cannot resist for long the excessive and incessant fatigue of confessions and preaching. The work needs prompt reinforcement of missionaries.'[1] A little popular book on the Madura mission, written by Father Whitehead, S.J., for the same class of parochial readers for which many of our own missionary books are written, tells an amusing story, for the literal truth of which we are not able to vouch. But there seems no reason to doubt it, and it finds support in the statement found elsewhere that one reason why de Nobili had to get extra help was that he found it impossible to work among the pariahs by night and to be a Brahman student by day. ' When he (de Costa) met a Brahman, this highborn Portuguese was obliged to leave the way, lower his eyes, and make himself as nothing before the divine offspring of Brahma who was passing by. During the day he never visited Father de Nobili ; but at

[1] *Un Jésuite Brahme.*

night, when all was quiet, these two holy souls found an opportunity to see each other and recount the wonders God had done for them and by them. In these brotherly meetings they heard each other's confessions and had a foretaste of that bliss which was to be theirs for all eternity.'

Only the most unimaginative person can suppose that while de Costa was humbling himself in the dust, de Nobili was living in the lap of luxury, or was suffering privation for the satisfaction of worldly pride. His life must have been almost unendurable to any one who was not supported by a single-minded devotion to his task. Even his studies were excessive ; his interruptions for discussion were almost interminable ; his exclusiveness, which anticipated the yet more extreme form adopted by one of his followers, almost deprived him of fresh air. An estimate of him shall be quoted from one of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society. The book is very simply written, but the author seems to have had access to good authorities. 'The task was hopeless in all aspects until Robert de Nobili became a Hindu to save Hindus. Robert was a generous soul, of indefatigable austerities, who went too much in the way of compliance to secure his end. . . . But, however you regard it, his service was wonderful past all saying.' [1]

As the cause of truth is never to be served by its suppression, we feel bound to notice a charge that has been repeatedly brought against de Nobili, in spite of the fact that we have not been able to trace it to any of his contemporaries. It is said that he deliberately forged a new *Veda*, and professed that it was a recovered volume of ancient

[1] *John de Britto, Missionary and Martyr*, by W. Robinson, 1910.

date. We venture the suggestion that de Nobili may have produced a new *Veda* which was intended to give a Christian colouring to the teachings of the authentic books, and that it was so successful that it came to be regarded as a genuine fifth *Veda*. Then when criticism was later brought to bear on it, and it was revealed as a 'forgery,' it was an easy matter to foist the supposed deception on de Nobili. False decretals and the like are known to scholars of the history of the Western Church, and controversial use has been made of them. Yet in few cases, if in any, has it been shown that these were originally put forward, in full knowledge of their falseness, and for the purpose of deception. They were writings that at some time were found and accepted by an uncritical age. 'The Donation of Constantine' was once accepted as authentic. There are passages in the New Testament which criticism has decided to be not part of the original text; yet even to-day there are people in England who would be offended if they were omitted when the New Testament is read publicly; and these persons are not charged with deliberately supporting a 'forgery.' But de Nobili was a Jesuit.

The salient features of de Nobili's life, while he was laying the foundations of the Brahmanizing policy, have been sketched, and little purpose would be served by supplying further details. But the reader will wish to know the later history of this bold experimenter. It proved, one may almost say that of course it proved, impossible as time went on to maintain the position that he was not a *frangi*. It became known that he was an associate of the Portuguese. His religion was recognized to be the same religion as that taught to the Paravas. It might be easily supposed that as Hinduism embraced the Brahman caste and the popular idola-

try of the lower castes, so Christianity could be a religion that recognized castes; de Nobili had always treated caste as merely a social distinction, a more extreme form of the class distinction that separated an Italian nobleman from a village peasant; and he was entirely honest in refusing to regard the Christian religion as a leveller of class distinctions. But suspicion was aroused, more particularly the suspicion that what he taught was inseparable from the advance of Portuguese influence. There was a falling away from the early successes; the Brahmans respected his way of living and his learning, and his manner of life enabled them to communicate with him without defilement; but it was not any longer possible for de Nobili to look for the downfall of Brahmanism. Moreover, there were Christians who resented his line of action; complaints were made, and reports were sent to Cochin, to Goa, and even to Rome. In each place, although not without difficulty, his action escaped censure. In 1623 Pope Gregory XV decreed that the sacred threads, and other distinguishing marks, were allowable, if they all had priestly blessing.[1] It may seem a weak compromise; but it was very difficult to unravel such complicated issues in Rome. From the fact that in 1624 de Nobili became a wandering *guru*, we might suppose that disillusionment, and now an impression that he was not being supported by authority, led to his change of life. But this is not a certain deduction from the facts; and while one writer has gone so far as to state that de Nobili was expelled by his Church, another has confidently asserted that, backed by Rome's approval, he now ventured to go over all South India propagating his teaching.

[1] Bull *Romanae sedis antistes.*

Between these extremes we cannot decide the intermediate position that determined de Nobili's change of life. He may have thought that controversy had weakened his power for good within the city of Madura, and that, a compromise favourable to himself having been reached, this was the occasion for disseminating his message over a wider area. The strain of the conflict may have affected his spirits, so that he felt it necessary to make a change; it is hard to be attacked by our fellow Christians, when we are only conscious of making a sacrifice of everything for the cause of God. We hope that in his wandering life he enjoyed the peace of God in his heart, and was encouraged by spiritual rewards. Yet the remainder of his life reads like a long drawn-out tragedy. He certainly met with great success, so much so that his influence permanently affected the policy of the Roman mission in India. But while a certain character was given to the mission, the results were never such as he had hoped for. There was never a body of Christian Brahmans able to shake the citadel of Brahmanism. After forty-two years of conditions such as very few Europeans can ever face, de Nobili lost his sight and retired to Jafnapatam in Ceylon. He was broken in health, but it is not at all certain that he was broken in spirit. There is no reason to suppose that he came to see either that caste in Christianity was wrong in principle, or that it was unsuccessful in policy. He returned again to India, and died at Mylapore in 1656.

Although ecclesiastical censure of the system inaugurated by de Nobili did not reach a climax until 1744, and will be referred to in the appendix to this chapter, this is the right place in which to express a judgement upon his policy as viewed calmly in the light of fuller experience, and with

every respect for the purity of motive that led to its adoption, and for the heroic and self-sacrificing lives of those who followed it.

De Nobili was convinced that Brahmanical exclusiveness was only an extreme example of class distinction. It did not enter his mind that caste was religious in character. If this be recognized, it will follow that this extraordinary adaptation to the prejudices of the ruling class in Indian society does not involve any deliberate betrayal of the Christian revelation. One need not even trouble to consider whether as a practical policy for the conversion of India it was likely to prove successful. It has been tried and it has failed, but perhaps the experiment was worth making. To adopt native dress, to accustom oneself to the diet of the country, to accommodate oneself to childish practices, to disfigure one's face, to fall in with the class distinctions of the country, may be regarded as legitimate respect towards a people among whom one lives as a foreigner. The more a foreign missionary regards himself as superior in civilization and education to the people whom he seeks to evangelize, the more is he called upon to sacrifice his own customs and national prejudices to those of the weaker brother.

Nevertheless one cannot be satisfied that de Nobili's judgement was sound, even when it is admitted that no shadow of doubt crossed his mind that caste was other than an extreme example of social differentiation. S. Paul was ready enough to become all things to all men, that he might win them to Christ ; but he held very unaccommodating views about Gentile circumcision as a concession to Jewish prejudices or claims, whatever he may have conceded in the case of Titus. He was ready to argue that circumcision was nothing

and uncircumcision nothing, as de Nobili might have contended that Brahman threads and caste marks were nothing and the lack of them nothing. Indeed de Nobili did so argue ; for he was ready to adopt them himself as suitable to one socially belonging to that caste, and he also rejoiced in the conversion of the Paravas. But the fact remains that the Jewish Paul fought rather than let the Gentiles be compelled to submit to circumcision and be brought under the Law. Presumably de Nobili looked forward hopefully to the time when the Christian spirit in high caste Christian Hindus would make them recognize as brothers the Christians of low caste ; but S. Paul, whose heart's desire was that his own Jewish people should be saved, would make no concession to prejudices which relegated the Gentile Christians to an inferior position.

There was a strange lack of clear thinking when Christianity could be offered to India as a religion which separated the brethren, instead of the religion which heals the divisions of society ; when it could tolerate that men should be unable to kneel side by side at the Lord's table to receive the one Body, because some of these ' Christophers ' would contaminate others.[1] In the early days of the Church Christ raised men from the dunghill and made them sit with princes ; now He was to be inaccessible to the lowly if the only priest near at hand was one who ministered to Brahman Christians.

[1] Since writing these lines the author has found a reference to the same effect in a quotation from Müllbauer's *History of Catholic Missions in the East*. Müllbauer is a Roman Catholic writer.

APPENDIX

LATER HISTORY OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN INDIA

THE policy inaugurated by de Nobili was followed by some of his followers, and even developed. Indeed in some degree it lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The article on 'Caste' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that 'the Danish mission at Tranquebar, the German mission of the heroic Schwarz, whose headquarters were Tangore, also permitted caste to be retained by their followers.'[1] We know that any comparison between these missionaries and the Jesuits will be distasteful to those who claim the Danish mission and Schwarz as precursors of their own undertakings; and we do not refer to them in any vulgar spirit of *tu quoque*. There is, too, an immense difference between tolerating a certain measure of caste division to remain among Indian Christians, and adopting an exclusively caste form of Christianity in the manner of de Nobili and his followers. Our sole aim in making this quotation is the endeavour to gain some favourable consideration for the Jesuits. These Protestant

[1] 'Though the earliest Protestant missionaries in the south of India, where caste feeling is most emphatic, had definitely forbidden all caste distinctions among their converts, such distinctions had slowly but steadily obtained recognition, until by the end of the eighteenth century there was little to choose in this matter between Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, which from the earliest times have recognized, and still continue in some measure to recognize, caste. Even Schwarz, though opposed to it in principle, found it necessary to deal very gently with its manifestations, and checked only its extreme and most barbarous forms. When Bishop Heber visited South India in 1826 he found it impossible to induce caste Christians to assemble or take the Sacrament with pariah Christians' (Arthur Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, Faber & Gwyer, 1929). Mr. Mayhew writes that the Baptists were the first to disallow caste, that Bishop Heber compromised, trusting to time, and that Bishop Wilson dealt with it more firmly.

missionaries were later in date than de Nobili ; yet they do not seem to have decided upon the definite policy, now universally adopted, that baptism involves a complete break with caste. But they, too, were inaugurators, missionaries coming to their labours with very little knowledge of the significance of caste in Indian life ; they, too, presumably, looked upon caste as a social distinction.

The man who is regarded as continuing the tradition set by Robert de Nobili is Giovanni Éttore de Britto (or de Brito). He was born in Lisbon in 1647, and his father was on intimate terms with the prince who in 1640 had become king of the restored independent rule of Portugal. Little John was chosen to be the special companion of the King's youngest son ; he grew up in the court, and from childhood showed signs of unusual sanctity. He was admitted to the Jesuit novitiate in 1662, and went to India in 1673, having resisted all persuasions to devote himself to the welfare of the court. With him went back Belthazar de Costa, who after twenty-seven years in India, spent among the Paravas and the low caste Christians, had come home for reinforcements. In all twenty-seven priests went out with this party, twelve of whom died before reaching India.

De Britto's life recalls the memory of S. Francis Xavier, whom from childhood he had taken as his patron ; it was an unceasing round of preaching, journeys, attempts to save souls, miracles, and persecutions. Yet he was regarded as a delicate man. The Hindu state of Madura was beginning to show signs of breaking up. In the general disorder the Christian Indians and the Europeans were even more liable to suffer than others. It was reckoned that about five thousand converts were being made each year, and by their movements they were causing the Gospel to become more widely spread over South India. It was becoming increasingly difficult to shepherd such a scattered flock, and we shall hear soon of its painful condition of neglect. De Britto adopted the dress and followed the life of a *Sanyassi*, and was highly regarded for his holiness. He was martyred by lingering tortures in 1693, and some fragments of his body were ultimately buried at Goa beside the tomb of his patron. 'He is not only among the first since apostolic days, he is really with Robert de Nobili the greatest among the missionaries in India of the Church of Rome, and one of the greatest of the wider Church of Christ.' [1]

[1] W. Robinson, *John de Britto*

The third of a great trio was Constant Beschi, an Italian, who reached Madura about 1700. His profound knowledge of Tamil won for him universal respect, and he was appointed to high office in the state. He became the most extravagant exponent of the Brahman policy of the Jesuits, exaggerating the practices of de Nobili, who also was an Italian. It is so difficult to give credence to what is recorded of his style of living, that we are driven to remember that the customs and ideas of one century may appear contemptible to another. It is reported on authority that cannot be doubted, that he so far outstripped the 'holiness' of the Brahmans as to be almost inaccessible, and only to have appeared in public, accompanied by horsemen, banner bearers, a band, and a long train of camels. This was doubtless forced upon him by public opinion, and by his state office. Beschi must have tolerated it as much from fear lest refusal should weaken his influence for good, as from a sense that it reflected honour upon the Christian religion of which he was a representative. It is easy to denounce such state, and to ask whether the Apostles would have tolerated it. But one has heard even of Englishmen thinking that great state is desirable in India; and one may remind oneself that for centuries Churchmen accepted a great deal of state in Europe, as reflecting honour upon their religion. Have we forgotten that later than the time of Beschi,[1] and in England, a Bishop of Durham could not appear in his cathedral city other than in a coach drawn by eight horses?

The fact that we are endeavouring to present the Roman mission to India in a favourable light, makes it the more incumbent, at the risk of some digression, that less commendable sides of its work should not be passed over in silence. For this reason we have called attention to the accusation of forgery levelled against de Nobili, and must now mention the treatment accorded to the Malabar Syrians which is certainly not to the credit of those who were responsible for it. It is a striking example of the authoritative tone adopted in that age by those who were incapable of conceiving that their right to exercise discipline could be called in question. These ancient Christians in the East were a thorn in the side of the Roman Church; there really ought not to be anybody who did not submit to its ecclesiastical rule. Attempts were made by the Franciscans and the Jesuits to insinuate Catholic priests into their midst. This action is entirely without any ground for complaint; it is a Christian act to endeavour to teach

[1] He died in 1742.

'heretics' the way of God more perfectly. The Syrians had, however, their own point of view, and they refused to receive instruction.

Efforts were then made to prevent the approach to them of any bishops from their Nestorian fountain head, and to make capital out of the litigious disposition which has always been a mark of this Christian body. This does not seem to be 'cricket.' In 1595 Dom Aleixo de Menezes was made Archbishop of Goa, and soon an occasion offered itself, through a vacancy in the Nestorian see, which illustrates the incapacity of the Archbishop—and the incapacity is not confined to him—to conceive that any one could seriously doubt that what is right in the eyes of the Roman Communion will naturally be accepted as the correct thing. And we do not think that this limitation is by any means confined to the Roman Catholics. The Archbishop summoned the Syrians to a synod at Diamper (or Udiamperur) in 1599, and declared that the most holy Father, Pope Clement VIII, had sent briefs by virtue of his office over all the Churches of the world, in which 'he commanded us, upon the death of the Archbishop Mar Auraham, to take possession of the Church and bishopric, so as not to suffer any bishop or prelate, coming from Babylon,[1] to enter therein.' Thus this remnant of ancient oriental Church life was reconciled to the papal see by an act of ruthless usurpation of ecclesiastical authority, for just so long a time as Portuguese influence was in the ascendant. It aptly illustrates the good ground that there was for Portuguese unpopularity in India. When in 1653 the Portuguese were driven out by the Dutch, about half of the Syrians returned to their former allegiance.

This reference to the Dutch is a reminder that our story has passed beyond the days when the Portuguese were the only *frangi* in India, and has reached the time of Portugal's decay and the temporary superiority of Holland on the high seas. The British East India Company had obtained trading rights at Surat in 1612, and had then slowly established other factories through the diplomatic skill of Sir Thomas Roe. Somewhat later the English secured a footing at Madras, and Bombay began to show some signs of life under General Aungier later in the century. About the same time Joe Charnock was making a beginning on the Hoogli. The Portuguese were now of little account outside Goa and a few coastal forts; the trade struggle lay between the Dutch and the English, and

[1] Babylon was at that time the seat of the Nestorian patriarchate.

the French and the Danes were represented on a very small scale.

The Dutch had allowed the Danes to establish factories and forts at Tranquebar and elsewhere, and Frederick IV of Denmark, under the influence of Lutheran 'pietism,' was persuaded to send two 'royal Danish missionaries' to begin the work of evangelization which had been neglected by the chaplains. Thus Ziegenbalg and Plutschau arrived in 1706. The Portuguese missions, few in number for their work, and weak now in prestige, were in their turn finding that there were others who looked on them much as they had looked on the Nestorian Christians. It is noteworthy, in view of the repeated accusation that the Roman mission confined itself to the Brahman caste, that the half-caste people had been left by the Danish chaplains entirely to the care of the Roman priests. But these new missionaries were of another sort, and they came up against the Jesuits by attempts to win over these people to the evangelical faith. There was therefore not much love between Ziegenbalg and the Jesuits. It is not, however, to the credit of Beschi that he ridiculed the Danish missionary's early attempts to speak Tamil, and still less so that on several occasions he resorted to violence against his agents and converts. It must have been very difficult for Beschi to reconcile himself to the fact that, in spite of his extraordinary position, the situation of the mission of which he was a representative was very different from what it had been.[1]

Reference has been made incidentally to the presence of French trading representatives in India. With the rise of their influence in Pondicherry, French Jesuits began from 1680 to supply the place of the Portuguese, who were entirely unable to meet the requirements of the growing and scattered Catholic communities. This lack of priests is the sole ground on which an accusation of neglecting the low caste has any case; an evil custom had arisen that prevented the Brahman European priests from losing caste by ministering to these people; and, owing to the insufficiency of missionaries, the pariahs were unhappily left without the Sacraments, when apart from this extreme caste policy they might have been better cared for.[2] As far back as 1667 Madura alone—that is

[1] An interesting sketch of these missions, including the Danish missions, may be read in *The Apostles of India*, J. N. Ogilvie: Baird Lecture, 1915.

[2] De Tournon directed in 1704 that henceforth the pariahs were not to be left without the Sacraments, and must be

exclusive of the other districts under Jesuit care—had forty thousand Christians with thirty-two churches and thirty-two smaller chapels, and only ten priests. About nine years later there were nine priests and fifteen catechists, and sixty churches or chapels exclusive of those which had been destroyed in the war. Two years later the Fathers complained that they could not minister to their flock, scattered over Southern India, with only eight or ten priests. In 1699 Père Martin estimates the Christians at about one hundred and fifty thousand, but these include those of the Fisheries' coast and of Travancore.

The attempt has been made to present de Nobili favourably, by regarding him as a pioneer faced by a particular problem, as a statesman who foresaw that the conversion of the Brahmans would mean the conversion of India, as one who anticipated the modern higher educational missions and the experiments at Indian brotherhood life. The time is come to deal with the last stages of the controversy concerning 'the Malabar rites,' as they are often called, and to bring down the narrative to the days of the Abbé Dubois. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Capuchins renewed the accusations, which had slumbered since 1623. It is not by accident that the Jesuit methods of China and India were being severely attacked at the same time. The power of Portugal had waned; other European nations were competing; the Propaganda had collected a great deal of information; the Jesuits were not everywhere supported in European courts; missionary undertakings were too important to be left to their own devices; and a new missionary agency had come into existence, with new methods of evangelization, and constructed on new lines. This is not the place to tell the story of the Société des Missions Étrangères, which

visited in their houses for Extreme Unction. His regulation was endorsed by papal approval, and confirmed finally in the bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum*. It is often wrongly assumed that the pariahs were deliberately neglected, whereas, of course, de Tournon meant that they were not to be neglected by the *Sanyassi* priests in the absence of one of their own *Pandâra* priests. So far from being indifferent to the lower castes, recourse was had to extreme methods, in order that the Sacraments could be given to the pariah Christians without defiling the priests who were in communication with the Brahmans.

must be left until the last chapter. But a certain Jesuit Father, de Rhodes, after working in the Tonquin mission, had visited Rome to urge the necessity of European bishops in the Far East and the deliberate policy of an indigenous priesthood. So from 1650 onwards the Propaganda was beginning to have at its disposal some missionaries, who desired to work in close union with it ; and France was beginning to take the place of Portugal and Spain as the centre of Catholic evangelization.

Clement XI was anxious to know the truth of things in China and India, and he chose de Tournon as his agent. The last and most unhappy chapter of his life has been narrated. He visited India first ; and either he was less gravely impressed by what he saw there, or he was in better health, and perhaps his temper had not yet become frayed. He issued a number of orders of comparatively trifling importance, and others that bore more directly on the matter. Here, as in China, the papal concessions to the Portuguese were regarded as sufficient justification for ignoring de Tournon's instructions; but Rome was not intending to let the matter drop. Behind the Pope's agent was the Pope himself, well equipped through the Propaganda.

Papal bulls followed one another in quick succession, which should have revealed to the Jesuits the fact that the more their Brahmanizing policy was understood in Europe the less it was liked. There seems to be something obtuse in the mind of a Society which could not grasp that fact. It is not fair to the reader, even if it would possibly be more fair to the memory of the Jesuits, to repeat the considerations which have been urged in mitigation of the Jesuit inability to realise the growing opposition to their Society's policy in China, and which are equally valid here.

Clement XI in 1707 and 1711, Benedict XIII in 1727, Clement XII in 1734 and twice in 1739, dealt with the Indian problem. The brief *Compertum exploratumque* of 1734 made a few trifling concessions ; but it also compared the followers of these practices with the Samaritans, who feared the Lord and served graven images. Finally, Benedict XIV in his bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum* (September 12, 1744) confirmed and emphasized the decisions of de Tournon and of his own predecessors. 'Should the members of the Society of Jesus not obey within the appointed time, they shall be deprived of all authority, and missionaries of another Order shall be sent out to India.'

It seems to be found difficult to distinguish between men and measures. If any one doubts this statement, he has only to read a mass of literature from different sources, bearing either on the Chinese rites or the Malabar rites, to confirm its truth. Those who are already disposed to hate the Jesuits and all their ways, seem, for the most part, strangely inclined to find some radical evil in the religious heart of the community, an essential disloyalty to Christ, as an explanation of a policy the attractiveness of which to zealous pioneer missionaries they have failed to appreciate. Those who have taken in hand to defend the Jesuits seem equally incapable of conceiving that, with the highest motives, their leaders can ever have made an error in policy, and then have found themselves, and their followers afterwards have found themselves, partly blinded and partly unable to see a way of making a change. A good deal of use has been made in this chapter of the most recent monograph on Robert de Nobili.[1] It is a reliable source of historical information, properly based on original authorities, to which reference is carefully made. But had one trusted to it exclusively, one must have formed the opinion that the Roman See heartily approved of the Brahmanical policy of the Jesuits. It is written there that the bull of Benedict XIV 'permitted the fundamental principle of adaptation to continue, as Gregory XV had approved in 1623, at the time of the controversy of Père de Nobili with his adversaries. Benedict condemned, it is true, certain abuses which a too large interpretation of the adaptation had allowed to creep into practice, but the essence remained.'

While the Madura mission was never a bed of roses, its later experience was one of increasing hardship. From the time that the Nayak dynasty in Madura began to decay, until after the days of Haider Ali and Tippoo Sahib, the conditions of life in the south of India were almost terrible. Dr. Richter, the Protestant author of *A History of Missions in India*, is by no means free from religious prejudices, but his charity has enabled him to write that the Madura mission 'was carried on under exceptional difficulties. The entire sphere of operations was, during the greater part of a century (1690–1750), swept from end to end with increasing wars, which inflicted on the Christians bitter persecution, pillage, and distresses. And as the missionaries had renounced all European protection, and even all connection with colonial powers haling from

[1] *Un Jésuite Brahme*, by Pierre Dahmen, S.J., 1925.

Europe, they were thus exposed to every caprice of heathen and Mohammedan rajah, and to all the hostility of the Brahmans and the fanatical sects of South India.'

Father Dahmen says correctly that the double system of priests continued to exist in India till the suppression of the Jesuits, and that of the two classes, the *Sanyassis* and the *Pandâras*, the mission to the humble people was more coveted. The Annual Letters of 1731 state that 'formerly the mission used to have eight or nine thousand baptisms a year; but it must not be forgotten that these last years have been times of famine, pestilence, and other calamities, and that it will take a long time to catch up the number of its Christians, and to recover its former splendour.' In 1757 there were fourteen missionaries. Then in 1759, four years after the great Lisbon earthquake, King Joseph of Portugal, under the influence of Pombal, his all-powerful minister, suppressed the Jesuit Order throughout Portuguese territory. This date lies outside the limit of these sketches, or it would be our duty to direct attention to the commercial enterprises undertaken by certain Jesuit missions on a large scale in Paraguay and Martinique. The former supplied the substantial reason for Pombal's action, and the latter for the suppression of the Society in France in 1764. These activities must be distinguished from the accusation that the early Jesuits mixed themselves up with commerce. It was then national commerce that reaped the benefit; and neither Portugal nor France, nor any other country of which we have knowledge, would have had the least objection to the benefits thus derived. But in Paraguay and Martinique members of the Society were profiting at the expense of the nation's commerce. The nearest approach in the early days to this later development was that in China and Japan some of the mission stations were to a certain extent saved from extinction by profits made from trade.

The suppression of the Jesuits throughout Portugal and its dominions was a fatal blow to missionary work in more than one quarter of the world; and when in 1773 the whole Society was suppressed, other arrangements had to be made for carrying on the work. By letters patent, signed by Louis XVI in 1776, the Société des Missions Étrangères undertook this responsibility in Madura.[1] The Society was already overwhelmed

[1] *Histoire generale de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, vol. ii, pp. 101–7. The word Madura is used here in distinction from Goa; but actually it covers Pondicherry, Mysore, and Coimbatore, or what is often known as the Malabar mission.

with work, but it undertook to send a Vicar-Apostolic and not more than four or five European missionaries; the Jesuits were to be allowed to remain and work with the Society in spite of the demand from Portugal that they should be recalled; the Society was to follow its own policy of creating an indigenous priesthood. Yet even at this late date it was found necessary, in the interest of peace, to modify the practice of appointing a bishop to be Vicar-Apostolic, and to substitute that of a bishop with the title of Superior, in order not to hurt the susceptibilities of Portugal.

Soon after the French secular priests had taken over the charge of the Malabar mission, they produced in the Abbé Dubois one who was worthy to rank with the greatest of the Jesuits who had led the way to India. His Indian life lasted from 1799 to 1823, and thus tided over the period of general missionary collapse. He was a pioneer in the institution of agricultural colleges in India, and in the use of vaccination on a large scale. He was invited by Colonel Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) to restore the Christian community of Mysore after the forcible conversions of Tippoo Sahib, and he was successful in gathering into the fold many thousands who had apostatised. At one time the Abbé brought a hornet's nest about his head by the publication of *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*. His learning was great, and his writings on Brahmanism in South India were of such value that they were purchased by Lord William Bentinck for the East India Company.

The Abbé held very pessimistic views of the prospects of missionary success in India. Undoubtedly he lived in a bad period, and also he was disheartened at the result of the Jesuit efforts. Bishop Eyre Chatterton[1] has written that Bishop Heber protested against his extreme denunciations of the Roman Catholic Indian Christians. But Dubois was himself almost in the line of the old *Sanyassi* Jesuits, and was as convinced as they were that their caste exclusiveness was not of a religious nature. 'If Brahmans cannot with any justice be accused of intolerance in the matter of religion, the same can certainly not be said in regard to their civil usages and customs. On these points they are utterly unreasonable.'[2]

His condemnation of the Europeans is in keeping with his other judgements. 'The French mission at Pondicherry

[1] *History of the Church of England in India*, p. 101.
[2] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, p. 302.

numbered sixty thousand Christians in the province of Arcot, and was daily making further progress, when the conquest of the country by Europeans took place—a disastrous event so far as the advance of Christianity was concerned. Having witnessed the immoral and disorderly conduct of the Europeans, who then overran the whole region, the Hindus would hear no more of a religion which appeared to have so little influence over the behaviour of those professing it, and who had been brought up in its tenets. . . . Those (i.e. native Christians) still remaining (and their number is daily diminished by apostasy) are mostly descendants of the original converts made by the Jesuit missionaries.' Herein he is merely recording a repetition of an earlier experience. It was the same unworthy presentation of the Christian life by the Portuguese that had led de Nobili to dissociate himself from them.

Two conclusions seem forced upon us by the facts of history. One is the humiliating reflection that the lives of European Christians, whether Portuguese or English, have created great prejudice against the Christian Faith. And to-day we cannot think only of the unruly period of the territorial conquests of the East India Company, but must add that there is now the impression of Christianity made upon Indians who visit England. The other is that the conversion of India cannot be hoped for by other than the slow process of building up the Christian character. There may come a time of great and spontaneous change, but it will only be when the ground has been well prepared. The day of forcible conversion, as by the Portuguese in Goa and by the Dutch in Ceylon, is over ; the day of rapid and superficial conversion, as practised by S. Francis Xavier among the Paravas, and during the early days of the Madura mission, and by Schwarz at Tranquebar and Tangore, is also over. It is for us to profit by the mistakes of our predecessors, not because we are any better than they, but solely because we come after them.

CHAPTER V

JEAN DE BRÉBEUF

ON December 18, 1497, the Milanese envoy wrote from London to his master : ' Perhaps among Your Excellency's many occupations it may not displease you to learn how his Majesty here has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. . . . But Master John Caboto has set his mind on something greater ; for he expects to go further on towards the Levant from that place already occupied, constantly hugging the shore until he shall be over against an island, by him called Cipango,[1] situated in the equinoctial region, where he thinks all the spices in the world, and also all the precious stones, originate . . . by means of which they hope to establish in London a greater storehouse of spices than there is in Alexandria.'[2]

In plain English the letter tells us that in the reign of Henry VII John Cabot had sailed westward from Bristol in a small vessel with eighteen men, and had reached the neighbourhood of Cape Breton, or the coast either of Labrador or Newfoundland. But what visions it brings to us from the past ! The commercial and banking interests of the Italian cities ; the restless enterprise of merchant seamen fired by the rumours of the north-west passage ; the keenness of the northern kingdoms to have their share in the Eastern treasures ;

[1] Japan.

[2] Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 69.

the importance of Alexandria on the southern trade routes ; the mistaken ideas of the globe, when by reason of the ignorance of the American continent the maps filled the vacancy with an exaggerated continent of Asia ; the simplicity which clung to the notion that somewhere or other was a fabled land of wealth whence came all the treasures of the world.

England was just beginning to wake up to the importance of navigation and its vital relation to commerce. Spain and Portugal controlled the southern trade routes ; the north-eastern route offered almost insuperable difficulties to travellers, and its trade was in the hands of the Hanseatic League. Cabot's voyage satisfied the eager intelligence of the age that, as Spain had reached the promised land by sailing west, it was now open to England to do the same. A Venetian merchant had already reported that Cabot had got to the land of the Grand Cham, anticipating the Milanese news that he would reach Japan by hugging the shore.

For an introduction to the early Jesuit missions in Canada, one must have as a background some knowledge of the advances made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Henry Hudson first, and then William Baffin, were bent on finding their way to China in the early years of James I ; and if disappointment dogged the steps of all the searchers of the north-west passage, there was some compensation in the beginnings of the Newfoundland fisheries and the fur trade. While these two names are immortalized in the regions which are called after them, Virginia presumably commemorates the great Queen in whose reign a series of notable names is associated with the beginnings of those colonies which we now distinguish from

Canada by the name of the United States of America: Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, Richard Grenville, and Francis Drake. John Smith, whose early life is almost a fable, is the true founder of Virginia, as the beginnings of Maryland belong to the grant made by Charles I to Lord Baltimore. By this time a fresh impetus was being given to colonization; religious differences of opinion were inclining men to think of a home in a new country where they would not be subjected to oppression, but where unfortunately they were to oppress others. The New England states had begun to come into existence.

While Spain and Portugal divided the New World between them, the three northern nations were not going to sit idly watching the world's wealth pour into the peninsula of the south. Papal distributions of the world were not easily disregarded by Catholics; but it did not seem the same thing to discover lands by northern passages as to compete in the teeth of the Pope with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal along their own routes. As time went on, two of the three naval powers of the north were in a position to defy the gift of Alexander VI; and France, loyally Catholic as she remained, found it possible to square her conscience with her material advantage.

Even before the formation of the Dutch Republic in 1579 those rebellious states were using their national advantages for naval commerce. Hudson had had dealings with the Dutch East India Company, and in 1614 the New Netherland Company was formed for exploiting the fur trade, and the area of its concerns lay between New France and New England.

We must pay more attention to the growth of French interests in Canada, seeing that the Jesuit

missions are immediately concerned with them. The Newfoundland fisheries were from an early date an active sphere for the fishermen not only of France and England but also of Spain and Portugal. These latter might claim their right, and indeed the sole right, to the fisheries; but France was not inclined to heed the directions of Alexander VI,[1] now that she was in conflict with the Emperor Charles V who was also King of Spain.

Of the many Englishmen who to-day visit St. Malo, probably the majority hear for the first time of Jacques Cartier, and are half inclined to resent the claim made for the Breton fisherman who explored the gulf of St. Lawrence. He too was searching for the north-west passage in 1534, and on subsequent voyages he reached what are now Quebec, Orleans, and Montreal. The internal affairs of France checked the exploring enterprises, until the time when Henry of Navarre had solved in his own person the religious distractions that were tearing the country to pieces. *Paris vaut bien une messe* may be as traditional as the peasants' *poule au pot*; but many apocryphal sayings are profoundly true. Meanwhile Breton and Norman fishermen had not been unmindful of taking annual toll of the Canadian fisheries, and Henry was alive to the importance of the fur trade.

Two names stand out in the history of French Canada in the seventeenth century—Champlain and de Frontenac.[2] The career of the latter is outside our somewhat narrow limits, but Cham-

[1] Papal bulls in 1493 assigned spheres of exploration to Spain and Portugal. In 1494 these two countries agreed by the treaty of Tordesillas upon a certain interpretation of these bulls.

[2] See *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. vi, chap. ii, et sqq.

plain prepared the way for the Jesuit mission, and deserves such notice as we can give of him. We can make no attempt to carry on the history of evangelization in the country which has taken its name of Canada from the Indian word that signifies a village, beyond the lifetime of one great Frenchman and Jesuit, who gave himself to the Huron mission, and laid down his life when the people to whom he had devoted himself were almost entirely destroyed. If we trespass a little into the field of Montreal, and at a rather late date, it is for the sole purpose of illustrating the revival of spiritual life in France at that period, and its intimate connection with missionary work.

It is insinuated at times that the failures in the evangelization of such countries as Japan and China and India were due to the faults of the missionaries. The writer is not attracted by the suggestion, and the mission to the Hurons provides an antidote to the insinuation. Heroic service and deep piety characterize the Jesuit mission ; and then the whole of it is blotted out. Is one forced to ask what fatal error lay hidden in this evangelism ? Rather it is better to see, alike in China and Japan and in India, as in Canada, history recorded in the kingdom of heaven, where all that is of abiding worth is stored up in everlasting life.

Samuel de Champlain was born in 1567 on the coast of the Bay of Biscay ; his family were good Catholics and were naturally associated with the navy. As soon as the wars of the League were ended, Samuel spent two years in the West Indies. We cannot stop to ask what he was doing in a part of the world which in the days of Bartolomé de las Casas would seem to have been reserved for the

use of Spain. And the future explorer of the St. Lawrence is credited by some with having been the first to conceive the idea of a Panama canal. It seems, however, that this is not so. The suggestion had already been made to Philip II of Spain and had not been favourably received ; he had no desire that it should become more easy to other nations to encroach upon his possessions. A hint to that effect had been given in the form of an intimation that any mention of the subject would be rewarded by a sentence of death.

In 1603 Champlain first went to Canada. The fur trade was dependent on royal patents, and on the goodwill of the inhabitants of Canada whom everybody to this day calls Indians. Champlain continued to serve the holders of this royal privilege, and to combine his duties with the work of exploration. It is at this time that the name Acadia or La Cadie became familiar. It was first used to designate the region from what is now Pennsylvania up to beyond Montreal ; but somewhat later its use was restricted to the peninsula of Nova Scotia. Among other services that he gave to his superiors and to France and to Canada, is that which he has rendered to posterity by his diligence in taking soundings and in making maps. As an explorer he is a genuine predecessor of a long line of worthies who have combined the eager pursuit of discovery with devotion to the service of God ; for Champlain is a fine example of the official, happily to be found in most generations, who combines in his person the service of God and of his country.

In 1608 he persuaded the Governor to change the settlement from Port Royal (Annapolis) to Quebec, which in the correspondence of that time is more frequently spelt Kébec. His interest in

the St. Lawrence was connected with the north-west passage, and the dream that its further exploration would open the way to China. There were bigger things to be thought of than profit upon furs.

The next year was one that has to be marked in the early history of Canada, and indeed is a most critical year in French colonial history. In 1609 Champlain used the Algonquin and the Huron tribes, and by their aid inflicted a severe defeat upon the Iroquois, which the latter never forgave. The group known as the Five Nations, and at a later period as the Six Nations, regarded the French as solely responsible for the disgrace and disaster which the rival tribes could not have brought upon them unaided. The bad feeling that was stirred was not only to find vent in continual harassing of their rival tribes until forty years afterwards the Hurons were nearly exterminated, but was to make the Iroquois look to the Dutch and the English for friendly relations and for the supply of European arms. When the time came for settlement between France and England of the ownership of North America, this group of Indian nations was the loyal ally of the latter country and the terrible scourge of the former.

In 1611 Champlain established a trading post at Mont Royal or Montreal; but Quebec remained the head station. It would be difficult for any one who is familiar with these great cities to imagine the miserable condition of those early settlers and traders. Nor were they altogether united among themselves. The governor, traders, merchants, soldiers, mechanics, and missionaries did not blend well; and there was a small Huguenot element which was not a thorn in the side of the priests only. Trade was not flourishing; the Indians needed careful handling, and were uncertain; the

climate was trying and food was sometimes scarce. The colony had to depend on the good fortunes of the French fleet. So in 1626 Richelieu took the matter in hand; the monopoly of the fur trade was transferred to the newly constituted company of New France, and the condition was made that the colony must be entirely Catholic. It was the period of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), and in 1627 'England drifted into war with France,' as Seeley has expressed the short conflict between the two European nations in Canada, and the English efforts to make use of Huguenot influence. When peace was made between them in 1629 Quebec was in English hands and Champlain was a prisoner in England. In 1632 the English retired from New France, and Champlain returned to the country of his adoption, where he died on Christmas Day, 1635.

In the unique collection of Jesuit correspondence published in Quebec under the title of *Relucions des Jésuites*, his death on the Feast of the Nativity is regarded as a divine favour. *Nostre gouverneur prit une nouvelle naissance au Ciel.* Francis Parkman, to whose *Pioneers of France in the New World* and *The Jesuits of North America* every gleaner in this field is indebted, has done justice to this *chevalier sans reproche.* He was a man of deep piety, and was not more attached to the interests of his country than to the evangelization of the Indians.

As a background to the history of the Huron mission we have to think of the weak beginnings of New France along the St. Lawrence river and leading up to the great lakes, of the New Netherlands or New Amsterdam, in what was later to be known as the colony of New York, and of New England. The Indians with whom the French

were directly concerned were the Algonquins and the Hurons ; the Dutch company was in the territory of the Five Nations which formed the powerful coalition of the Iroquois. New England was separated from New France by New Amsterdam ; and there was not yet any thought of a New York to be named after the man whom we know as James II of England. Each one of these three trading companies had its own method and ideal of colonization ; but as yet they were all more concerned to make profits out of the furs brought to them by the Indians than to have visions of the Canada and the United States of America of which they were laying the foundations.

While the most extravagant claims could be made by any one of the three European nations, that by its trading company or through its colonization the whole of North America was in its possession, not one of them occupied effectively even a restricted area. Settlements were always in danger of starvation, and the Indians hovered round as a terror that walketh in the darkness. Father Biard, in the first of the invaluable series of Jesuit communications, sets the sea of China as the western limit of New France at a time when the newly arrived mission was finding lodgement with a few soldiers and traders at Port Royal and Quebec, and they were all living under most primitive and austere conditions. This was in 1611 ; and in 1613 Samuel Argell from Virginia brought this first stage of the mission to an abrupt close by the destruction of Port Royal and St. Croix (New Brunswick). In 1621 James I granted a patent of the whole peninsula to a Scottish syndicate, and its name was changed to Nova Scotia.

The importance of this first French effort was the interest which it aroused at home, where reports

were published and read as eagerly as to-day are the magazines which tell of the actual life and experiences of missionaries. Father Biard did not return at this time to Canada, but he was able to inspire those who followed in his steps in the determination to win *les Sauvages*. In 1615 a small undertaking among the Hurons was entrusted to the Récollets, a French sixteenth-century Franciscan reform of the strict observance; and, when Pope Paul V gave his formal authorization to the mission, he may be regarded as having tacitly repealed the earlier world distribution of Alexander VI. Fresh conditions may at any time call for reconsideration of spheres of influence, whether in the political world or in the comity of missions.

From among the three priests and lay-brother, Joseph le Caron was assigned to the Hurons; when reinforcements came soon after, the whole staff of six distributed themselves over five missions that stretched from Quebec to the shores of Lake Huron. It has often happened, as it happens to-day, that work grows faster than the resources; the Récollet Fathers were urged to supply more missionaries, and realized that they had undertaken a larger task than they could hope to perform. With a liberality of spirit that neither was nor is too common, they invited the Jesuits to come to their assistance. In 1625 three Jesuit priests arrived, and they were supported shortly afterwards by two more priests and twenty labourers, and then a few others were sent to strengthen their hands. The war with England interfered with the work, and the missionaries went back to Europe. When the Jesuits resumed their labours in 1633, the Récollets did not return.

Jean de Brébeuf, who was one of the first arrivals

of the new mission in 1625, is said to be descended from the same stock as the English earls of Arundel. He was a scion of a good Norman family, a man whom nature intended to become a soldier. He used to say of himself, *Je suis un boeuf, et ne suis propre qu'à porter la charge.* His birth was in 1593, and he entered the Society in 1617. The good Fathers were naturally more concerned, when contemplating his martyrdom, to dwell upon his sanctity than on his physical qualities ; but it is certain that these were advantageous to him in a high degree. All that his deep devotion to his Master could inspire, all that the discipline of his life could build up, were aided by a robust vigour of body which enabled him to endure the extremities of fatigue, the lack of wholesome food, exposure to climate, and the nervous strain of having to witness the Indian torture of prisoners and to live in continual danger of the like for himself. He was always the first to serve menially, and in the extreme poverty of the mission no one was more ready to turn his hand to whatever was wanted at the moment. However much he stole from the night in order to pray, he would be the earliest to rise that he might light the fire and set to work on household duties. He gives the impression of a practical man, with the additional advantages of good spirits, sound common sense, and sane judgement.

Modern missionaries, especially pioneers, often have to endure great hardships ; but it is among the advantages of an age of rapid communication, and of mechanical development, that certain amenities of life can be obtained even under the most adverse circumstances. Before we acquiesce in a patronizing approval of our predecessors in the task of evangelization, qualified by the criticism that

is appropriate to our superior attainments, we shall perhaps do well to make an effort to picture to ourselves the conditions under which they lived. These early Jesuits to Canada went to a savage race chiefly employed in tribal warfare ; they had to see horrible tortures, to be near at hand to cannibal feasts, and to endure the savage noises of gluttonous debauches that lasted night and day. When they visited the surrounding villages, Indian hooligans were apt to pelt them with stones and sticks. Their journeys were often through untracked forests, and they tramped through snow and slush with their blankets on their backs. In their own quarters they were nearly suffocated by smoke ; in the Huron villages they were nauseated by the stench. If they slept in a native house they were consumed by vermin, disgusted with the dirt, sickened by the filthy diet, and worried by the dogs.

The house, which was henceforth to be the home of Brébeuf and his companions, was built on the Huron plan but adapted to the missionaries' needs. It was a long wooden structure, thirty feet by twenty ; and it seemed to let in all the draught and to let out none of the smoke. It was divided into three parts. One portion was hall, ante-room, and store-room ; the largest part was appropriated for kitchen, work-shop, dining-room, drawing-room, school-room, and bed-chamber ; the third was at first the chapel, but afterwards was thrown into general use when a new chapel had been erected. Logs of wood served as chairs in this house.

Curiosity is not confined to Hurons. Most missionaries suffer from manifestations of the same disposition in their prospective converts ; they have not perhaps conceived the simple stratagem

by which the Jesuits were at any rate left time to say some prayers without seeming discourteous to the self-invited guests. A clock was an inexhaustible source of amazement, and the striking of the hours was thought to be talk. In answer to the inquiry, 'What does it say?' the explanation at a certain hour always was that it was saying that it was time for the visitors to depart. It was perhaps a rather 'jesuitical' answer.

The good Fathers had no intention to confine themselves to the village in which with the help of Indians they had built their log-cabin. A pastoral responsibility kept them always on the move. They divided the whole district between them, and toured it in all weathers. No opportunity of creating a favourable impression was lost; the strange white man found no service beneath his dignity, and yet he had not the secret satisfaction of feeling that the Indians admired his condescension. One cannot say that at first even the children were 'promising,' as is said of the children in every parish in England. They were painfully apt to remain at a judicious distance and throw stones, or watch the discomfort of the 'pale-face' with a crowd of mangy dogs round him. Even the severest critic will scarcely grudge these missionaries the joy that warmed their hearts, when now and then one of them was able secretly to baptize a dying baby. The strictest rules forbade them to administer the Sacrament without full preparation to a Huron in good health; but in the immediate prospect of death a savage would be surreptitiously baptized upon a faint assent to a whispered appeal for some sign of faith. The annual reports are fond of references to the death-bed conversion of a savage into an angel. Sometimes an Indian prisoner was about to be finished off

after he had proved his prowess by the stoical endurance of torture, and had done credit to his tribe by remaining unmoved by the taunts of the women and children, who were amusing themselves by the infliction of ingenious torments. Then there would be a Jesuit by his side, if he could possibly manage it, to offer him the kingdom of heaven in exchange for the hell from which he was about to depart or which he was possibly about to enter. In these instances there was no uneasiness of mind ; but the trouble was with the sick, for occasionally such an one made an unexpected recovery. Sometimes, in the case of an infant, the Jesuit might be allowed to claim him ; with an adult the case was more difficult. He might attribute his recovery to his baptism, and become a docile pupil ; but it might prove to be a case of ' When the devil was sick.'

To the labours of language study, entertainment of idle visitors, parochial visiting, house-work, and other occupations must be added the dangers which at all times have beset those whose hearts are so on fire with the love of God as to drive them into new lands for His sake. If the seasons were not favourable to the crops, or if a plague attacked the Hurons, it was the evil worked by the magic of those foreigners with their strange gods. The same spiritual and moral obtuseness was found in Canada as may be found in Melanesia or among the aborigines of any other country. The Hurons saw nothing unsatisfactory in their rites or in their practices. They laughed at the missionary who regarded their treatment of prisoners with horror ; thieving involved no sense of shame, and one of the company had to be always on the alert in the capacity of what the music hall language calls a ' chucker-out.' It seems to have been propounded

to the inhabitants that it would be desirable to have a genuinely Christian village, in which the French industrialists would marry Indian wives, and the rising generation would be Christians. The Hurons were not attracted by the scheme; it seemed to them an unnecessary refinement to go through the ceremony of matrimony.

In the general description that is being given, no attempt is made to confine it to the first days of the mission. As very happily there is no need to discuss any disputable policy in this chapter, the opportunity is taken to give such general sketches of pioneer evangelization as may help the reader to realize what is involved in being the apostles of any country, and to ask himself whether it is altogether a sufficient explanation of the men who faced this life in the sixteenth and following centuries, that they had only a Christianized form of superstition to offer in exchange for native beliefs in the manner of placating the spirits. In no other mission has one a better opportunity of learning at first hand what missionaries did and hoped and believed. We may read the yearly reports which were sent to the Superior in France from the missions in Canada; and there would seem to be no reason why these Jesuits should be thought of as in any way differing in spiritual character from their brothers in other parts of the world.

A number of these annual reports are written by Brébeuf, and it is mainly from them that extracts have been made. As head of the Huron mission it was his duty to send in the yearly record. He has written, *Pour convertir les Sauvages il n'y faut pas tant de science que de bonté et vertu bien solide. Les quatre elemens d'un homme Apostolique en la Nouvelle France sont l'Affabilité, l'Humilité, la Patience et une Charité genereuse. . . . Ils n'en-*

tendent pas rien nostre Theologie, mais ils entendent parfaitement bien nostre humilité et nostre affabilité et se laissent gaigner.

There is a very practical instruction for the benefit of future missionaries, some parts of which are not out of date. We give a few extracts, using Parkman's translation where it is available. 'You should love the Indians like brothers, with whom you are to spend the rest of your life.' 'Take a flint and steel to light their pipes and kindle their fire at night; for these little services win their hearts.' 'Try to eat the sagamite as they cook it, bad and dirty as it is.' 'They will not appreciate your philosophy or your theology, but they will respect you if you can bear the pack on your back as they do.' 'Do not be a nuisance by always talking in order to learn the language; they appreciate silence.' 'If you meet any one by the way, although you may not know their language show a cheerful face so that they may see that you bear the fatigues of travelling joyfully.' 'Remember that it is Christ and His Cross that you are seeking; and if you aim at anything else you will get nothing but affliction, for body and mind. But having found Him on His Cross you will find roses among the thorns, and sweetness in bitterness, and gain in loss (*le tout dans le néant*).'

For reading the Fathers had to get up with the sun, or to carry their books where they could read by moonlight; only in the chapel were there any candles. They were often short of wine, and never used it except in the chalice, and for long stretches of time only five drops at each Mass. Nor was there any concession even here to aesthetic luxury; but daily at the altar, kneeling side by side were the French mechanics, and the Indian converts 'as naked as your hand,' to whom kneeling was an

awkward novelty. In the 'Relations' one finds no trace of a devotional spirit that craves for the miraculous, no sign of dependence upon emotional cultus; the Fathers made their daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament, but they did not write extravagantly about It; they had a great devotion to our Lady, but there is no suggestion that this is the key to their Catholicism. Yet they cannot have been unmindful that this correspondence was widely read in France as edifying literature.

The practical Brébeuf used to say that God gave us the day to be spent with our neighbour, and the night for converse with Him. Much that one can read of his spiritual experiences is in harmony with this. It is not fair to draw a picture of this rugged yet refined athlete from the funeral oration preached under strong emotion after his martyrdom; but it is right to refer to his visions and illuminations, in order that we may realize that the man of God has a hidden life which explains what is seen, and that we may not nurse the impression that if any one sees visions he must be hysterical. Brébeuf's illuminations will seem to some to be fantastic; others will think them easy of belief. Even Puritans have fought with devils, and had what are commonly called hallucinations.

Several of Brébeuf's revelations illustrate his practical character. They draw from him the question, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?'; they seem to take their shape from what was already in his mind; they are generally very Scriptural. Sometimes one has the impression that they might equally well be introduced by such a phrase as, 'It was pressed in upon me while I was praying.' Thus, on one occasion this question was answered by the familiar *Tolle, lege*; and the next

day he took up his *Imitatio* and opened at the chapter *de regia via Sanctae crucis*. At another time the same question was answered by, 'Go to Ananias and it shall be told thee what thou must do,' and he learned therefrom the value of obedience in relation to the way of illumination. So on another occasion, when he was making the spiritual exercises, and was realizing at once the enormity of his sins and the yet greater pity of our Saviour, he heard the words, 'He is a chosen vessel to Me to bear My Name among the Gentiles, and I will show him what he must suffer for My Name's sake.' Again came the words to his lips, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?' followed by, 'Make me a man after Thy heart, nothing shall ever separate me from Thy charity, neither nakedness nor sword nor death.' This was in the year 1640, when the words were very applicable to his condition. We shall not express ourselves to-day as Parkman has written, who nevertheless has a great respect for Brébeuf, whom he can so little understand. His conclusion is that 'with some of these missionaries one may throw off trash and nonsense by the cartload, and find under it all a solid nucleus of saint and hero.'

We turn now to the external history of the mission. It was in 1632 that le Jeune reached Quebec with one priest and a layman. The work was to be resumed, which troubles with the English had caused temporarily to be closed down. It is almost pathetic to picture the Canadian Superior seated on the ground, with an Indian child on one side of him, and a small negro slave, a legacy of the English occupation, on the other. Not one of the three understands the language of the others; and Père le Jeune is trying to learn a native tongue and to instil the elements of the

Faith at the same time into these youthful souls. In 1634 Brébeuf came back, and with him were other priests, and among them Father Biard of the earlier mission days in Acadia. But especially Champlain was with them, ready to take up again his firm and wholesome rule, and to resume his happy relations with the Jesuits.

It was a very simple matter to these people that they should come back; it probably seemed to them an obvious thing. But there are elements in the return which give to it a heroic character. Any one may face unknown dangers; he does not believe in their existence; he does not realize how hard they can be. But Champlain, Biard, and Brébeuf knew how long and arduous was the journey, fatiguing even to Indians; the conditions of life were clearly understood, the demand on physical strength, the strain to civilized ways of living. There was not the excitement of novelty in facing once more the diet of sagamite, 'bad and dirty as it is,' the scraps of smoked fish, and an occasional pumpkin. Every one of them knew what would probably be his end one day. One example will be sufficient to illustrate the sort of men that these were. One of the Fathers was taken prisoner and was subjected to torture; the nails of his fingers were torn out by the teeth of the Indians, and then the women gnawed off the finger ends. He was sent to France for recovery of health, and then he was allowed to go back to his former labours, being granted special dispensation to say Mass in spite of his physical disabilities.

Hitherto the work of evangelization had been confined to the wandering Algonquins. Their nomad life made them very poor material; there was not time for any deep impression. Thoughts turned to the former mission of Brébeuf among the

Hurons. Those people were settled in villages; they occupied a district which, if converted, would be a centre from which the Gospel could spread to the dreaded Iroquois. But it was an awful journey from Quebec to Lake Huron, and only to be undertaken in company with a returning party of Hurons from their annual trading visit.

The first attempt to make the journey had to be abandoned; but in 1635 Brébeuf, Daniel, and Davost, very badly served by their guides, laboriously struggled along the road which Champlain had traversed years ago. Fear of the Iroquois, who had never forgiven the French, made a long detour necessary. From Montreal up the Ottawa river to Lake Nipissing, and then along the shores of the Georgian bay of Lake Huron, cramped in little canoes, continually having to negotiate the rapids, often tramping with heavy baggage, separated one from another, they made their journey, and Brébeuf was the first to arrive. The contract fulfilled, the Indians left him; he had to hunt out a spot in which to settle. The village with which he had been familiar in 1629 was destroyed, but he traced its inhabitants and they gave him a welcome. Slowly his companions joined him, half-dead from exhaustion. Within two years they were reinforced by five more priests from the enlarged mission at Quebec.

In 1637 the first baptism of an adult Huron in full health brought hope for the future; the cheering prospect was soon dashed by the accusation that a plague of unparalleled severity and endurance resulted from Christian magic. Long debates took place, on the issue of which hung the life or death of the Jesuits. The fear of killing a Frenchman struggled against the fury of this foreign magic. Brébeuf sat through weary hours of con-

ference, listening to the excited charges which were incapable of either proof or disproof. Calmly and boldly he maintained his innocence, and attempted to insinuate the foundations of Christian sentiment.

It was in an atmosphere thus electrically charged that the Fathers tramped to the neighbouring villages, and nursed the sick, and surreptitiously baptized the dying. Still the most detailed reports were written. In 1639 'the number of infants baptized in sickness is fifty-two, of which twenty-seven have been taken to heaven; of those who are older and have been baptized at the point of death or in grievous sickness (the number) is seventy-four, of whom twenty-two are dead . . . of the catechumens, baptized in good health, forty-nine.'

Very early in the history of the mission the idea of a seminary or school at Quebec was mooted. Here the boys might be well trained, and incidentally they would be hostages for the lives of the Jesuits exposed to Huron fury. Father Daniel made a start in 1636 with one boy, and the number soon increased to seven. Two ate themselves to death, one ran away, one was removed, and the others stole a canoe and bolted. The venture was renewed, and an additional experiment was made. The time comes in every mission when it is realized that the Christian boys must have Christian wives. We shall show later how this need was supplied by women's aid from France, and also how the Montreal mission came to be founded in 1642. Now and henceforth occasional references are made to these missions in the Jesuit correspondence, although they were outside their sphere of work.

As 1637 combined the encouragement of the first adult baptism after full preparation with the

anxiety of the plague, so 1642 saw the new mission at Montreal and also the beginnings of that Iroquois vindictiveness which was within seven years to break up the Huron mission. The Five Nations had never forgiven the Algonquins and the Hurons for their defeat in 1609, nor indeed the French who had made it possible. Since then they had acquired arms from the Dutch traders, and had become a terror to the Indians on their journeys to and from Quebec, and to all stragglers, Indian or French, beyond the stockades of the city. But this year Father Jogues was travelling with some Huron Christians to replenish the mission stores when the party was attacked. For about a year the Father remained a prisoner, suffering tortures that one would have thought were beyond the limits of human nature ; and all this time he lost no opportunity to baptize the dying or to minister to Indian prisoners undergoing torture. At length the Dutch Calvinists at Fort Orange, who had been doing their best to purchase his release, assisted him to escape and then paid the ransom. In the spring of 1643 this dauntless man returned to Canada.

Father Brébeuf was now a good deal at Quebec, Sillery, and Three Rivers. It was a dangerous period, for the Iroquois were on the warpath against the Algonquins, whose land lay between the Huron territory and Quebec. They spread the report that Echon, as Brébeuf was always called by them, was plotting the destruction of the Hurons, and that the Fathers in their midst were seeking to wipe them out by means of their prayers and their magic. They threatened to carry off the white girls (i.e. the new nuns) and to kill every Frenchman ; the Huron mission became isolated, the scattered missions on the St. Lawrence were withdrawn, Quebec was in the greatest danger.

Blow fell upon blow; pestilence was decimating the Indian allies of the French; Father Bressani, an Italian Jesuit, suffered even worse than Father Jogues before he was sold to the Dutch as worthless; his attendant, a young French boy of twelve or thirteen years, endured the most horrible tortures, inflicted for the sake of adding to the agonies of the Father.

In 1645 a very doubtful peace was patched up, but it was undoubtedly right to make the attempt. It was, however, a heroic act when Father Jogues and two others, who had already suffered horribly, ventured their lives among the Mohawks. It is one thing to face torture when there is no escape, or to risk it for a good cause; but to have endured it, and then with shattered health to face it again—. It is what these men did and paid the price.

The opportunity has been gladly seized to bear witness to the humanity of the Dutch Huguenots. We turn now to a like courtesy elsewhere. The Indian war was raging, and Father Druilletes sought on behalf of New France to enlist the help of New England against the Five Nations in return for trading facilities. Very naturally the political side of the mission had no success; but one likes to record the meeting between the Jesuit Father and John Eliot. This English Puritan had migrated to Boston in 1631, and next year had moved to Roxbury where he remained until his death in 1690. It was just now, when Father Druilletes met him, that he was beginning to preach to the Indians in their own tongue. The results of his life's work are such as have rarely been excelled, and he was generously supported by help from America as well as England. But although no such disasters ruined his work as overwhelmed the Huron mission, the results were not any more permanent.

The state of Massachusetts had decreed that if any Jesuit returned, after having been expelled, he should be put to death. This was natural enough ; it was merely the condition of the age. Neither did Roman Catholic countries tolerate Protestants, nor Protestants Roman Catholics. It is just this state of political society and of personal bitterness that makes these Dutch and English acts deserving of notice. It is easy to conceive what was Eliot's view of Jesuits. Yet Druilletes was his guest, and he was invited to spend the winter with him. Jesuit and Puritan were poles asunder ; but two men, who for the sake of Christ were giving their lives to the conversion of the Indians, must have found something in common. *Cor ad cor loquitur*. It does one good to think of this night at Roxbury. It may do us good if we will learn to apply its lesson.

The Huron mission was drawing to its close. War parties met in the forests, and whichever side won, to it came the sweet revenge of indescribable torture and burnings. The Iroquois were better organized, and had acquired the confidence of success. Never had the spiritual prospects of the Huron mission been so bright. In most villages there was now a church, and in some of them the Christians outnumbered the heathen. In 1648 the annual report states that the Faith was spreading beyond their most sanguine expectations, the churches were overcrowded, and the priests had sometimes to say Mass twice in a day. The beginnings of an ordered life were to be seen among the Indians, and they were in process of becoming peaceable hunters and fishermen, with some regular habits of cultivating the soil. The French were so solidly welded together that it was not easy to distinguish between the civil rule and its fur trade

and the missions. They were one large family, and the mission priests were as much for ' our own people overseas ' as they were missionaries. No Frenchmen thought to sneer at missions, or to suggest that they spoiled the Indians. If God gave New France to the little King who had not yet assumed personal rule, it was the duty of France to do its best to convert the inhabitants.

The fatal year of 1649 opened gloomily enough and yet hopefully. Last year one large branch of the Huron mission had been wiped out. Father Daniel of Dieppe was the priest here. When the sudden attack had been made he was just ending Mass, and he had not time to change his vestments. Seizing a handkerchief, and soaking it in water, he rushed among the people hastily baptizing them for death. ' Brothers, to-day we shall be in heaven.' For one moment it looked as if a scene in early Church history might be repeated. He faced the Iroquois, and they hesitated. Then all was over ; his dead body was hacked to pieces, the village was burned, and when the church caught fire they flung his remains into it. The other mission of Father Daniel shared the same fate. The women who escaped into the woods were betrayed by the whimpering of their infants. Those were fortunate who met death at the time and were not in the long lines of prisoners.

That was the prospect which hung like a cloud over the mission stations of Brébeuf. The staff consisted of eighteen priests, four lay-brothers, a few hired Frenchmen and a handful of soldiers, and twenty-three *donnés,* or laymen voluntarily attached to the mission. Life was not unlike that of the builders of the walls of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah. There was continual watch against a possible raid. The Fathers went on steadily with

their pastoral duties, passing from village to village. Their *confrères* on the St. Lawrence were doing the same, risking their lives to minister to any fur trader, or French fisherman, or Indian Christian in some distant outpost.

Now it was the turn of Brébeuf. He was fifty-six years old, and his beard was grizzled. A desperate attack on St. Louis was finally successful; Brébeuf and his brother priest were carried off; the mission station of Ste. Marie managed to repulse the enemy, but St. Ignatius was destroyed, and its prisoners burned to death with the whole village. Before the enemy withdrew time was found for the torture of the two Jesuit Fathers. The indomitable courage and calm defiance of Brébeuf put the Indians on their mettle to devise every ingenuity. They could not let a pale-face excel them in power of endurance. Father Brébeuf was scorched from head to foot, and because he defied his torturers his lower lip was cut away and a red-hot iron was pushed down his throat. Maddened because they could not make him appeal for mercy, they tortured his brother priest before his eyes. Drunk with victory and blood, the Iroquois hung heated hatchets round Brébeuf's neck; boiling water was flung over the priests in mockery of baptism. At length they tore strips of flesh from Brébeuf's arms and legs and ate them before his eyes; they scalped him, and when not yet dead they drank his blood to obtain his courage. Finally they tore out his heart and ate it. His companion, as weak in bodily frame and physical courage as Brébeuf was strong and fearless, was yet longer in his agony. The Indians controlled themselves in order to prolong their enjoyment, for the defiance of Brébeuf had infuriated them.

The report of his death which was sent to the

French Provincial begins in this way : ' The Père Jean de Brébeuf was called to be the first apostle of the Hurons, the first of our company to go there, and who, having found there not a single one who invoked the Name of God, laboured so happily for the salvation of these barbarians that before his death he had the consolation to see nearly seven thousand baptized, and the Cross of Jesus Christ adored by all with glory, and adored in a country which from the foundation of the world had never been Christian.' It ends with the words, ' He died preaching and doing truly apostolic labours, and by a death which befitted the first apostle of the Hurons.'

The Huron mission was ended. A miserable remnant of people was collected by the Fathers ; many of them died during the winter. In the spring famine forced them to escape. The Iroquois hung upon their steps ; the men were killed in fights ; the women and children were burnt. There was no safety in Montreal. They pleaded to be taken to Quebec, and promised to be good Christians. Their journey through the Algonquin country was a march through a desert. The Algonquins and the Hurons had ceased to exist as a nation.

In 1647 the Superior had written in his report to France, ' Do not imagine that the rage of the Iroquois and the loss of many Christians and many catechumens can bring to naught the mystery of the Cross of Jesus Christ and the efficacy of His blood. We shall die ; we shall be captured, burnt, butchered ; so be it. Those who die in their beds do not always die the best death. I see none of our company cast down.' We shall allow that this was not an empty boast ; and, when the time came, these men showed no lack of physical courage. It is not enough to call them heroic ; their

lives are evidence of something more than heroism. These men had faith. While many of us think that we believe in God, these men knew because they walked with Him.

During a recent Missionary Exhibition at the Vatican eight of these missionaries were beatified.[1] On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1930, seven of them were canonized. One Father, who had been found frozen to death on February 2, 1646, has not been advanced; but a layman of the mission, Jean de la Lande, was canonized with the other seven. Whatever regard the reader may pay to the process of canonization, it is not to be denied that it impresses upon the members of the Roman Communion the significant fact that there is an attainment of Christian character, and a standard of holiness, beyond that of the mediocre lives around us that have not sufficient power to stimulate us to greater efforts. Among these Canadian missionary saints are three whose names have been mentioned in this chapter:

Père Isaac Jogues, killed by a hatchet. October 18, 1646.

Père Antony Daniel, killed July 4, 1648.

Père Jean de Brébeuf of Condé-sur-Vire, killed March 16, 1649.

[1] See *Revue illustrée de l'Exposition missionaire vaticane*, 1924–25

A NOTE BETWEEN TWO CHAPTERS

THE French mission to North America began almost with the seventeenth century, and was mainly the work of the Jesuits. Although our sketch has ceased with the close of one branch of the mission at the middle of the century, the work elsewhere continued to grow. In the chapter that follows, the beginning of another enterprise will be traced, which also continued to expand; but this will be the direct product of the secular life of the French Church.

There is always the risk of exaggeration in attempting to describe the spiritual life of a nation at any particular time. If the period be one that is generally unfavourable to religion, one is apt to forget that nevertheless there were many godly persons; if one is summarizing an age of revival, there is a great temptation to present it as a time of almost universal sanctity. The religious life of France in the seventeenth century is so fascinating, that this temptation is more than usually strong. The Evangelical Revival in England is another illustration of this danger. There was a time when men wrote as though there was no life whatever in the English Church until the Wesleys began to stir up the country. And the history of the revival is so striking, that one may forget the terribly sad condition of the country in the days of George IV and later. Yet no one denies that the revival was genuine, profoundly deep, and also widely spread, or that its fruits have been permanent.

The same is true of the earlier French revival. Such a man as Champlain is enough to remind us that religion cannot have been dead at the beginning of the century; the impulse to convert the savages of Acadia is also evidence of some life. Yet we may go to the middle of the century, to the time when the revival has developed, and still find France in an appalling state of spiritual and social destitution.

No two periods of religious reformation are alike. The characteristic mark of the French revival is the change that came over the priestly life of the country. In England that was not the outstanding feature. But the two had some things in common; both were marked by an intense fervour for bring-

ing the Gospel to the simple people ; both were known by the fruits of philanthropy ; in both countries there were similar activities in the prisons, among prostitutes, and in the care of neglected children. But in one important respect they differed : at a much earlier stage in France than in England the revival became deeply committed to the work of foreign missions. In our own country the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. are proof that there was life, when the popular impression is that religion was dead ; so in France the missions to New France, not merely to care for their colonists, but to preach to the Indians, has been mentioned as similar proof. But in England we have to go later down in the revival before reaching the period of the missionary societies, outside and within Anglicanism, which are the direct impulse of the movement ; in France we shall find the missionary spirit manifesting itself at an earlier stage, and inviting the question whether it was not rather one of the contributory causes of the revival than one of its most striking results.

Mgr. Abelly published the standard life of S. Vincent de Paul in 1664. He gives some account of the spiritual condition of the country at the beginning and towards the end of Vincent's life. Of the earlier time, about the year 1576, he writes that in the country districts the clergy so neglected their pastoral duties that the common people were in the grossest ignorance. Left entirely without instruction, they passed their lives scarcely knowing if there was a God, without even elementary instruction in the outlines of the Christian faith and practice ; they were not taught to use the Sacraments, or trained in the proper disposition for their reception. The clergy, if socially they had claim to be treated as men of the educated classes, regarded it as insulting to be spoken of as priests. In the towns there could not be the same material ignorance as in the provinces, but the spiritual condition was not better.

About the years 1642–43 Vincent was devoting himself to the preparation of candidates for the priesthood, and the Society of S. Sulpice was coming into being. There were by that time bishops who were shocked at the unfitness of most of the clergy to engage in a spiritual ministry. A godly canon, a disciple of S. Vincent, begged for help from his spiritual master ; ' In this diocese the clergy are without discipline, and the people without fear, and the priests without devotion or charity . . . vice goes without punishment, virtue is persecuted, and the authority of the Church is hated and despised.' A certain bishop said that the great majority of his clergy were

ignorant and vicious; in his diocese there were seven thousand priests who were either drunkards or unchaste, who went daily to the altar without any sense of vocation. About the same time another bishop appealed for Vincent's help, because he felt himself powerless to restore any ecclesiastical discipline. Another wrote that with one exception he did not know of any priest in his diocese who could properly perform his ecclesiastical duties.[1]

One need only know a little of the general history of France to realize the poverty and distress of the poorer people. What the condition would have been without the good works which were begun at this time one does not like to think. The Abbé Huvelin has remarked that 'if a stranger arrived in Paris about 1650 or 1652, in the time of the Fronde, he would have found the name of M. Vincent on every lip.'[2] Near the gate of S. Denis was the home of the Sisters of Charity; at the General Infirmary the Ladies of Charity were visiting the sick; at La Salpetrière tramps and old people were received in great numbers. At the gate of Bicêtre, at the other end of Paris, everything again spoke of M. Vincent. Yet *The Cambridge Modern History* writes that 'the charity of Saint-Vincent de Paul and of the votaries of Port Royal hardly touched the fringe of the distress, which continued long after the Fronde had ceased.'[3]

The first place in this revival must be given to S. Francis de Sales, who had come to Paris at the opening of the century. *An Introduction to the Devout Life* was written in 1608 on a suggestion made to him by Henry IV. With Madame de Chantal he founded the Order of the Visitation, which very rapidly established more than eighty houses. With the aid of Madame Acarie and her daughter he settled the Ursulines in France, an old Order which had engaged the deep interest of S. Charles Borromeo in Italy, who may be said to have refounded it. The Cardinal de Bérulle, cousin of Madame Acarie, and Vincent de Paul were disciples of S. Francis de Sales, and in 1611 the former founded the Oratory, and in 1624 the latter began the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission, known then and henceforth as the Lazarists. Father de Condren had joined the Oratory in 1617, and M. Olier, who founded the Society of S. Sulpice in 1642, was his spiritual son.

It has been remarked that one of the outstanding features

[1] *La Vie de S. Vincent de Paul*, bk. i, chap. i, and bk. ii, chap. ii.
[2] *Some Spiritual Guides of the Seventeenth Century*.
[3] Vol. iv, p. 521.

of the French revival at this period was the reform of the priesthood. Two principal methods were adopted : the use of retreats, especially on the eve of ordination, and the systematic training of the candidates in the Seminary. But S. Vincent had also other arrows in his quiver. He inspired the movement for parochial missions, especially in the rural districts ; his work among women was of a practical character, and he found scope for their activity in elementary schools, and in visiting, and in the establishment of those charitable works which are still the glory of women in the world whose hearts are given to God and their neighbours.

M. Houtin in his *Courte Histoire du Christianisme* has written that the Gallican Church reached its apogee in this century, and he names sixteen persons as among the most illustrious. As well as those whose names have been mentioned, and the great court preachers, and several bishops of peculiar zeal and holiness, bent on reforming their dioceses, and the circle that is associated with Port Royal and Pascal, we may add some who were involved in the Jansenist trouble, and Madame Guyon whose name recalls to memory the spirit of Quietism and the dispute between Bossuet and Fénelon. A corner may be found also for two humble Christians, perhaps not less illustrious than these others where fame is more enduring than in the records of history : Mary Rousseau, a barmaid in the rue Pot-de-Fer in the parish of S. Sulpice, whose inner life of prayer gave power to her gentle remonstrance to Olier when he was a young and careless cleric ; and Nicholas Herman, a private soldier and afterwards a footman, who in 1666 became a lay-brother in a Parisian Carmelite house, and is known as ' Brother Lawrence ' to many who have not even read *The Practice of the Presence of God*.' [1]

We must turn to the particular question that is suggested by the chapters between which this is an interlude. We begin with Vincent de Paul, who had an intense desire to be a missionary. ' Ah, wretched me ! I am not worthy through my sins to serve God among the people who do not know Him.' ' How happy, O how happy, is the lot of a missionary, who has no other limits to his missions and his labours for Jesus Christ than the whole habitable world ! Why do we then restrict

[1] Reference has been made to the Abbé Huvelin's book, published in an English translation in 1927. An older English source of information is *Priestly Life in France in the Seventeenth Century*, by Mrs. Sidney Lear. It is now out of print.

ourselves to one place and prescribe limits, since God has given us so extended a sphere in which to exercise our zeal?' In 1605 he had been captured at sea, and sold into slavery in Tunis. The experience of those two years may well explain why the heart that seemed unable to neglect any one at home, even the convicts working in the galleys, should not leave foreign missions to others. It was a rule of the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission that they were to go wherever they were sent; it was also the practice of S. Vincent only to send overseas those who were willing to go. The earliest fields were, naturally enough, Algiers and Tunis; great efforts were made also to establish work in Madagascar.

The next names to be recorded are those of M. Jean Jacques Olier, and others who concerned themselves with New France. About the year 1636 Olier was praying one day in the Church of S. Germain-des-Près in Paris, when it was revealed to him, or it came into his heart—it is the same thing either way—that he was to found a society of priests in Montreal. About the same time a devout layman of La Flèche in Anjou, by name Dauversière, had a similar conviction that he was to found an order of hospital nurses, and to establish a hospital, in Montreal. These two men met by accident, as we say, at the Château de Meudon near St. Cloud. Those to whom everything that suggests supernatural direction is suspect of superstition, as savouring of the miraculous, will find the circumstances of this meeting difficult of acceptance, as it is recorded; and those who do not think that when a psychological interpretation is proposed one is denying the work of the Holy Spirit of God in hearts which are open to His suggestions will discover no special difficulty.

In Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve, Olier found the man that he needed for one part of his design; and Mademoiselle Jeanne Mance proved to be another right selection. In Notre Dame of Paris the whole plan was dedicated to God in 1642, the future Seminary (the Canadian Sulpicians), the hospital to be served by nuns, and the schools for the teaching Sisters who were to instruct the Indian and French children in the Catechism. At this date we are dealing with other missionary promptings, which have not been mentioned. Madame de la Peltrie was a childless widow of twenty-two years, the daughter of a leading family in Normandy. She was determined to found a branch of the Ursulines in Canada, and family opposition was only overcome by a ruse which to-day would neither be approved nor be necessary. At Tours

she found her missionary supplies, together with a Superior in the person of Marie de l'Incarnation. In 1639 Madame started with her three Ursulines and with three hospital nuns. The journey from Dieppe to the landing in Canada took two months and a half, and from there to Quebec another fifteen days.

Our story of missionary development has now come down to the years 1639 and 1642. Our next date should be 1653 :[1] but it is so important, that it will be the subject of a whole chapter on the history of the Société des Missions Étrangères. Our interest in the mission to New France will perhaps pardon a slight excursion at this point, before we continue the main argument of this note between the two narratives of French seventeenth-century missions.

A place was offered to Madame de la Peltrie and her party at Sillery, near to Quebec. The trials of the early days were severe ; small-pox was raging, and the cold was almost unendurable. Like some other Lady-bountifuls, Madame was inclined to be self-willed. For a time she transferred her interest and her money to the Montreal work, and great were the financial difficulties of the Ursulines at that time. Happily she renewed her affection for those whom she had persuaded to come out, and she died in their midst in 1671. Mother Marie de l'Incarnation followed her in the next year, after having been given a great joy. She had resigned her son in his childhood, in order that she might follow her vocation ; and he had turned out wild. He was now converted, and had become a faithful priest.

Meanwhile the other party had settled down at Montreal, and was able to fortify itself before the Iroquois discovered it in 1644. From that day every straggler from the enclosure went in danger of his life. One may see to-day in the offices of the Order of S. Sulpice the old historic seminary. The city also has its memorial to Maisonneuve, to whom its foundation is ascribed. One other name must be mentioned. Marguerite Bourgeoys was the daughter of a French tradesman, and an externe of the Sisters of the Congregation at Troyes. She went out in 1653. 'To this day, in crowded

[1] The Christian Brothers (Les Ignorantins) were founded by S. Jean Baptiste de la Salle at Reims in the years 1679 to 1683. In their earliest years they were not a missionary Order. The Congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Spirit (1703) devoted itself exclusively to missions ; but it remained a very small society until the middle of the nineteenth century.

schoolrooms of Montreal and Quebec, fit monuments of her unobtrusive virtue, her successors instruct the children of the poor, and embalm the pleasant memory of Marguerite Bourgeoys.'[1] She was the foundress of the Filles de la Congregation de Notre Dame (1657), which in 1923 had two thousand professed Sisters engaged in teaching Indian and white children.[2]

In 1624 the College of the Bons-Enfants was founded, advancing rapidly into 'The Lazarists'; 1639 and 1642 marked the rise of the very modern missionary activities of nursing and teaching Sisters in Canada, and 1653 saw the beginning of an independent missionary society on modern lines. All these things are sufficiently remarkable; but the interesting thing is that they are so closely related to the leading personalities of the revival of spiritual life within France itself. The *Choix des letters édifiantes*[3] writes quite accurately of S. Vincent, that 'it was not enough for Vincent de Paul to have covered France with charitable institutions; his charity extended further'; M. Olier, who was to become the founder of S. Sulpice, had done a great deal for Canada; we shall see in due course that a new missionary society arose out of a group of devout men in Paris, which was not at first thinking of foreign missions. The Ursulines had not been introduced into France with a missionary intention, but in 1639 one of its houses had sent Sisters to Canada, and it has been seen with what rapidity these branches increased during this century. Ought this direction of the minds of men and women to go overseas to be regarded as a first-fruits of home revival, or are we justified in thinking that the work of foreign missions was an important contribution to the revival? It is an interesting question, and one that is not easily answered. One must notice, before going any further, that the missionary impulse was at any rate very early. Can one safely assert anything more definitely than this? It is to that question that we now turn.

[1] Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America.*

[2] *Manuel des Missions Catholiques*, 1925.

[3] Vol. i states that on the invitation of the Congregation of the Propaganda twenty priests were sent to Madagascar, after others had gone to Tunis, Algeria, and Tripoli. Mgr. Pallu was also very anxious to interest Louis XIV in Madagascar. The *Manuel des Missions Catholiques*, under the work of the Lazarists gives (1648) 1896 for the dates in Madagascar, and similarly (1698) for China.

Unmistakably the influence of the Jesuits is to be traced at every stage. Only in 1562 was the opposition of the University and Parliament of Paris withdrawn from their educational work; by the end of the century their schools were being asked for by most of the large towns. When Father Biard, one of their priests in Canada, began in 1611 what proved to be the first of the series of 'Relations,' a missionary force of great power was put in motion, which did not act only on the Religious Houses, but penetrated wherever the revival was felt, and contributed to strengthen it. Thus when Olier and Dauversière were simultaneously and independently moved to inaugurate new branches of work in Canada, they showed that subconsciously, at any rate, the foreign missions had gripped them. This is not less the fact, even if we accept literally the assertion that one of them had never heard of Montreal, and did not know where it was. The Canadian mission was carried on in the very atmosphere of the revival. Later, it will be seen that a Jesuit priest in Paris was preparing, all unconsciously, the ground for the Missions Étrangères, and that another Jesuit priest, returning from Tonquin and Cochin China, was to be its inspiration.

S. Vincent cannot be regarded as a French revivalist, who only swam with the times by showing an interest in foreign missions. He never forgot his experience in captivity from 1605–7; the Lazarists are too early a foundation to be treated as a part of a revival which was only later to be directed to foreign missions, and from their inception it was instilled into them that they must be ready to go wherever they were sent. Perhaps, when one comes down to the contributions towards the expenses of Mgr. Pallu's voyages to Siam from the Filles de la Charité, it is no longer possible to distinguish between causes contributing to the revival and the spirit aroused by it. But enough has been said earlier in this interlude to show that it is an entire mistake to suppose that the revival was spent by the middle of the century. It was gathering force, and everywhere that force was filled with keenness on foreign missions.

So we may trace the development chronologically. 1611, Father Biard; 1615, the Récollet Fathers; 1625, the Jesuit Missions to Canada; 1639 and 1642, the Montreal Missions, and the beginning of women missionaries; 1645, the Lazarists in Barbary; 1653, Mgr. Pallu and the seminary for training priests to become missionaries.

Or we may glance at the matter geographically. Even

Jesuits come from somewhere, and presumably in the family circles father and mother talked of the strange countries to which their sons had gone, and were, unconsciously perhaps, missionary agents in their narrow or wider circles. Paris was of course the greatest centre of missionary revival; but people gravitated there from the provinces, and went back with the latest reports of what was going on. Normandy and Brittany were deeply concerned in Canada; Dauversière lived in Anjou; Tours supplied Pallu and some of the women missionaries; Mademoiselle Bourgeoys had lived in Troyes, Madame de la Peltrie came from Normandy, Mademoiselle Mance from near Dreux; the mission priests of S. Vincent went here and there throughout the land, and the Sulpicians were gathered from all over the country. People did not write so many letters as they do now; but news spread.

Can any suggestions be offered why in France this revival was missionary from the first, whereas in the English revival, which has been compared with it, the missionary spirit came later? With some hesitation we offer the following considerations. France had not lost the continuity of missionary work; Dominicans and Franciscans were members of the Catholic Church with which France was united; the Jesuits were keen missionaries, and they were becoming influential in France. But in England this continuity of evangelization had been broken; the missionary labours in the East and in the New World were, as Roman Catholic missions, not talked of. Even the tradition of the self-sacrifice of life, of surrendering everything to God, had been lost; to become a missionary savoured of fanaticism.

England, too, was the great slave-trading country. It is not implied that the conscience of Englishmen was any less sensitive in this matter than that of other nations; it was our colonies and our shipping that made us pre-eminent in this profitable trade. But it is difficult to conceive that a country, which regarded slavery as consistent with respectable Christianity, could be very sensitive to the duty and opportunity of evangelization; and it is undoubted that the movement for emancipation was directly connected with the springing up of a missionary conscience. One is tempted to hazard the suggestion, also, that the way in which Englishmen read their Bibles helped to keep their minds closed to its missionary teaching. There was no historic sense; the Old Testament was almost on a par with the New Testament. If France was not any more advanced in its Biblical criticism, it did put the

teaching authority of the Church, and the continuity of the Church's life, in a place which saved it from supposing that God had given authority for the subjection of the sons of Ham; 'a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.' No one could say in France that the obligation to preach the Gospel ceased on the deaths of the Apostles.

Because France belonged to a larger life than itself; knew its Christian fellowship to be one with Spain and Portugal; knew that its fellow Churchmen were preaching the Gospel in the New World, in China, in Japan, in India; knew that seated in Rome the Holy Father blessed these missions, it could not help facing the universality of the Church. But the English Church was national; its Christianity was English; English non-conformity did not look further than its own compatriots in the colonies which were casting themselves off from the Mother Country. So far as preaching the Gospel to every creature was concerned, the heart of England had to be very deeply stirred before it could realize that foreign missions were vital to its religion. It had to be a new discovery. The first friends of the two Anglican societies, which in England one fitly calls 'venerable,' had made this discovery; but only a national revival could supply their needs other than meagrely. If the Evangelical Revival had been in closer relation with the Church piety of the supporters of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G., the missionary fire of it might have kindled more quickly.

It is probably not desirable that we should be able to trace cause and effect too closely in spiritual things. In any case it would be wrong to argue that, if a great revival in France in one century was very intimately connected with the prayers and almsgiving and fervour of its missionary work, the same order must be followed in another country and in another century. But to-day we have a certain tradition of evangelization; and the close connection between foreign missions and home revival in the seventeenth century, where there was already this missionary tradition, has its reflections for those who are thinking of the World Call and of the state of religion in England.

CHAPTER VI

FRANÇOIS PALLU

ON the Feast of the Epiphany in the year of grace 1685, Fénelon preached in Paris in the chapel of a small missionary society, in the presence of the ambassadors of the King of Siam. The preacher was already one of the glories of S. Sulpice, and he had once wished to become a missionary in the Levant, and to proclaim the Gospel from the Acropolis. He was not yet 'The Swan of Cambrai'; but the occasion justified the selection of a famous preacher, for news had just reached Paris of the death of Mgr. Pallu in China.

When the great missionary had last been seen, there had been the additional glamour of his return from the Far East as a Spanish prisoner, who had been brought back by way of Mexico; and the preacher did not lose the opportunity of pressing effectively the point that he had thus made a complete voyage round the world. Then he had gone back to the East, to open up, at the orders of the Pope, the evangelization of China, which since the days of Ricci had been regarded as the exclusive sphere of the Portuguese missions.

Fénelon chose for his text the words from Isaiah, 'Arise, shine, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.' Pulpit eloquence is a fickle taste, and, great as is the reputation of French preaching in the seventeenth century, the apostrophes of Fénelon do not appeal

to us as does a more simple and direct style. But one must be very cold if something of the emotion that moved the congregation on this occasion cannot still be felt.

'Empire of China! thou wilt not be able to close thy doors. Already a holy prelate, walking in the steps of Francis Xavier, has blessed this country with his latest breath. We have seen this simple and large-hearted man, who returned from compassing the entire circuit of the terrestrial globe. We have seen this premature and very touching old age, this venerable body, bowed down not by the weight of years but by that of penances and labours. And he seemed to say to all of us, in whose midst he had passed his life, to all of us who could not have enough of seeing and hearing him, of blessing him, of tasting of his unction, of smelling the sweet odour of Jesus Christ which was in him; he seemed to say to us, "I know that ye shall see my face again no more." We saw him just as he came from encircling the whole earth; but his heart, larger even than the world, was still in those far-off lands. The Spirit was calling him to China; and the Gospel, which he was debtor to give to that vast empire, was as a fire that he could not restrain, devouring the very depths of his heart.'

'Go then, holy patriarch, and cross once more the astonished and submissive ocean; go, in the Name of God. You will see the promised land; it will be granted to you to enter it, because you have hoped against hope. The stormy tempest, that threatens to shipwreck you, will land you on the desired shore. For eight months your dying voice will make the coasts of China to resound with the Name of Jesus Christ. Oh, all too soon death! O precious life, which should have

lasted longer! O sweet hopes sadly dashed! But let us adore God, and keep silence.'

The subject of this oration certainly deserved it more than some of those whose funeral orations are familiar to us as among the masterpieces of 'The Eagle of Meaux.' Bossuet, who had his hands upon most things in the French Church, and was later to cross swords successfully with Fénelon, was also one of the friends and advisers of the Société des Missions Étrangères, of which François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, was the first member.

We have chosen him as the central figure of one of our chapters, partly because he illustrates the attempt of the missionary-hearted Church of France to cut itself adrift from the evil traditions of the Portuguese prerogatives, which, as we have seen, were damaging the good name of foreign missions, and partly that we may close our sketches with some account of the rise of the first modern missionary society in the hands of the secular priesthood. No other selection could so well link together the past and the present as the history of this Society, which is to-day one of the glories of the French Church, together with the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, which early in the nineteenth century was to revive its activity after the blows of the Revolution and the era of Napoleon. We are so accustomed in England to date from the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. (1698 and 1701), that it is good for us to learn something of a society in France dating from 1658, and receiving its Royal Charter in 1663, and which has from the first been in the closest relationship with the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, adumbrated before the end of the sixteenth century, and established by a papal bull in 1622.

In history one can never expect to find a begin-

ning which has not some inspiration or source in what was already in existence. Here the story of a French secular missionary society must begin with a French Jesuit. Alexandre de Rhodes was a citizen of Avignon, the city in which the Popes had luxuriated during ' the Babylonish Captivity.' At the age of twenty-two he had joined the Jesuit mission in India, and had at first been sent to work among the slaves and jail-birds of Goa. Then he had earned the name of the Francis Xavier of Cochin China and Tonquin. The numerous converts, the fruits of his many journeys, like those of S. Francis, surpass imagination. In prison he converted the jailors, on board ship the captains and sailors ; the gulf of Tonquin, notorious for its storms, seemed specially to guard him, although he challenged it fifteen times. Nor was his reputation for healing the sick body less than the fame that he acquired for ministering to the diseased soul.

We have had the opportunity of reading some of Rhodes' accounts of his labours in these parts prior to the year 1648. One of them was translated from the Latin into French and published at Lyons in 1651. It is an interesting history of Tonquin, which serves as an introduction to the first Christian labours in the kingdom, undertaken in 1624 and onwards by the Portuguese missionaries from Japan. When their work was being impeded in that country, Father Rodriguez conceived the idea of following up the Japanese Christians who had dispersed into these regions. Fortune was variable. The ruling powers were not averse to offering an asylum to the Japanese, and they welcomed the possibility of encouraging commercial intercourse with Portugal. Unfortunately the King and the missionaries did not see eye to eye on the

matter of matrimony. 'You tell my subjects that they should only have one wife; I want them to have many, so that they may have many children faithful to me.' Rhodes reached Tonquin in 1627, and the history of the next years is a continual alternation between expulsions and returns. Yet in 1639 there were reckoned to be 82,500 Christians, of whom 12,230 had been baptized within the last year.

In the Jesuit 'Relations,' written by Rhodes, of the years 1644 and 1645 in Cochin China, and published in Paris in 1652, we read of the faithfulness of the Christians under heavy afflictions, and specially of the martyrdom of Andrew, the first catechist in those parts to suffer death for the Faith. While in both these books the author has very little to say of his own doings, the general picture provides ample defence of the sound designs which were forming in his mind. The presence of foreign missionaries was uncertain, and was liable to call unfavourable attention to the native Christians. There were many trustworthy catechists, who could keep the local congregations together, if they had Priests' Orders; and in hard times they could go about unobserved, and minister to the scattered flocks. But Rhodes knew that the Portuguese Government would not favour an independent Christianity, which would tend to disconnect the native Church from that close dependence on Portugal, whereby she maintained her exclusive prerogative to have dealings in these parts. Already, owing to her decay, and the alarming rivalry of northern commerce, her privilege was seriously threatened, and she was no longer able to supply the ever increasing demand for missionaries, as the evangelization of the East made progress by self-propagation, and by the scattering of

the Christians under persecution. Rhodes was a Frenchman, and it was more easy for him to view missionary policy through other than Portuguese spectacles. But he was also a Jesuit, and must act cautiously.

He determined to come to Europe and make an appeal. He must have realized that he was facing a great undertaking. To provide a native secular priesthood was a different thing from receiving Japanese and Chinese Christians into Western Orders ; to ask Rome to withdraw the privileges that it had granted in the past to Portugal would certainly cause trouble. But when one has found a real man, one is dealing with some one to whom difficulties are an incentive. Among these difficulties an arduous and dangerous journey counts for little. It would not be prudent for the purpose of a campaign, the character of which would be suspected from his known opinions, to travel by the usual route and to trust to the Portuguese ships. Rhodes evidently thought it safer to commit himself to the wild regions of Asia, the dangers of shipwreck in whatever vessels he could light upon, the experiences of deserts, and the risks from barbarians and Turks. He arrived at Rome in 1648, having started in all probability soon after he had signed his last ' Relation ' in Macao on October 16, 1645.

Only in 1651 did he find fitting occasion to open his mind on so delicate a matter, and one in which he would be acting contrary to what many of his brethren in the Society conceived to be desirable. Papal bulls, repeated at intervals between 1514 and 1616, had given and secured to Portugal the privilege of confirming all episcopal appointments within her sphere of influence, and of requiring that all missionaries should sail to the East from a

Portuguese European port. But if Portugal was likely to cling to those prerogatives all the more strongly that her power was waning, there were two reasons why the Roman Curia should be more ready to modify its policy than at any earlier time. Her interest lay with the effective evangelization of the world and not with the prestige of a particular royal dignity. If Portugal could not fulfil its obligations, the Pope must see if it were not possible to get his work done by some one else. But, while it sometimes happens that a spiritual authority may desire a good end, and yet lack effective means to accomplish it, the very decline of Portuguese power opened the way ; Rome could begin to ignore its previous acts. Already it had done so tacitly in Canada, but the case there was rather that of not applying a policy than of changing a policy. Here the challenge would be direct, and Spain would be affected by it, since by reason of the long union between the two countries Spain had adapted itself to the conditions : if it was not now Spanish honour that would be offended by a Portuguese grievance, yet Spain had no wish to see any introduction of French influence in the East to be added to the troublesome Dutch and English. Portugal held the keys of the situation in Goa and Macao ; Spain in the Philippines might be a rival of Portugal in commerce, but she would rather join hands with her than let in another. And what other could there be than France, always a potential enemy in Europe, and at present very happily not bothering about the East ?

It is not to be supposed that any of these considerations was lost sight of in the papal councils, or that the strange confusion between national advantage and the Ministry of the Church would strike men there as a thing to be denounced. It

was what men were used to ; it had grown up naturally. If any one thought of recalling the privileges, on the ground that they were conditional on teaching the Faith in these lands, it would have been difficult to prove that Portugal was not doing its best. We are fortunately in a position to appreciate the delicacy of the situation, for we have already seen the daring defiance of the Portuguese mission in China towards Mgr. Maigrot and de Tournon. Actually those unhappy conflicts were not yet begun ; it is this courageous mission of the Père de Rhodes, and all that followed from it, that was to make the battle of the Chinese rites possible.

Rhodes was well received in Rome, and presumably he used his long period of waiting profitably ; when the time was ripe for official interviews, he found a friendly atmosphere. The Pope was willing to supply bishops, and he encouraged the idea of the indigenous priesthood. It was an obvious thing to offer one of the bishoprics to Rhodes ; it was natural that he should refuse. He was told to look for his bishops elsewhere, but to avoid France.

It is easy to account for this one exception. France was suspect of Jansenism, and yet more of Gallicanism, a national spirit in ecclesiastical matters which was not agreeable to the Roman Curia. The Italian papacy was, further, uneasy about the possible political alliances of France, and it was certainly very unhappy over the treaty which quite recently had ended the Thirty Years' War. Rome had made ineffectual protests against it, not solely due to its concessions to the Protestants. France had lain outside the Empire ; but certain conditions in the treaty of Westphalia contained the possibility of influence that might be

used unfavourably to Rome in imperial concerns, and the power of France was increasing.

Rhodes did his best. He could not find any of his bishops in Italy ; he tried Piedmont and failed ; so also the Catholic parts of Switzerland, and Alsace. Where was he to try next ? And after all he was a Frenchman. He was at last obliged to come to Paris in 1653, and there he found himself in congenial surroundings. He was not concerned with the troubles of the Fronde, or with the policy of the Italian Mazarin and the Queen-Mother. He found his home in the circle of the revival, the friends of the Oratory of S. Vincent, and those parishes that were humming with life. He would get at once into close touch with the Parisian supporters of his own Society's work in Canada, bowed down but not disheartened by the sorrows of recent years. He got to know Père Bagot of his own Society, a great director of souls, who had gathered round him a little group of the clergy and of the laity, which he was helping along the ways of the spiritual life. People were talking in Paris of the Bagotites, much as later in our own country people were to speak of Simeonites or Puseyites. Through Bagot he would get to know his friend M. Olier.

It was among the Bagotites that Rhodes was to find his bishops, and yet more. We need not concern ourselves further with him. He was sent by his Society next year to take up the work in Persia. A Jesuit history suggests that he was sent to this country because the Portuguese would not be ready to convey him to his former mission. He was now about sixty years old. He did his best, making a gallant effort to learn another language, making light of the mirth which his blunders caused, receiving kicks and cuffs cheerfully. When he died

in 1660 he was planning work in Georgia and Tartary. It seems difficult to find any place where these missionaries were not penetrating.

The little association that was being directed by Père Bagot was concerned solely with the cultivation of the life of sanctification and of good works. Its members were not conscious of any vocation to work overseas. Rhodes told them of the neglected condition of the Christians in Tonquin and Cochin China, and of what he was seeking with the Pope's authorization. He unfolded his plans for bishops, directly representing the Pope; he expounded his idea of turning the native catechists into priests, and of thus providing permanently for the needs of the Church. He foresaw some day native bishops, and a Church united with the Western Church, but not Western in character or under the tutelage of foreign missionaries. The Bagotites had found their vocation. We are now on the verge of the Société des Missions Étrangères, and, out of courtesy to its strongly expressed opinion, we must be careful to avoid speaking of Rhodes as its founder. But he was certainly its inspirer, as Fénelon called him.

The Propaganda, with which through its whole history this Society has worked in closest fellowship, and under its guidance, heard what was stirring in Paris, and instructed the Papal Nuncio in Paris, Mgr. Bagni, to look into the matter, and choose three bishops from this company. The Nuncio's selection was Pallu, a Canon of S. Martin of Tours; Laval de Montmorency, who had been an Archdeacon of Évreux; and a holy and learned priest named Pique. There were delays: the Pope died; Bagni was called back to Rome. In the interval François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency was called to Canada as Vicar-Apostolic in 1659,

and subsequently became the first Bishop of Quebec, and founder of the Quebec Seminary, which he affiliated to the Seminary of the Missions Étrangères in Paris. Thus it has come to pass that the French Canadian missions have become linked up with the Parisian Society of Foreign Missions. Parkman has a good deal to say of Laval, not always favourably ; but he does not seem to have been interested in his connection with the Society, which has been our reason for referring to him.[1]

There is another thing that calls at this stage for a passing notice. A Jesuit was the director of this pious association of clergymen and laymen ; another Jesuit led their thoughts to foreign missionary work. Yet there is no sign of any attempt to draw them into the Society of Jesus. Those who suppose that every member of a Religious Community spends his time in subtly seeking to gain proselytes will find this difficult to understand. Perhaps they will suggest that Bagot was not a typical Jesuit. What of Rhodes ? He must certainly have been a good Jesuit : he had gone to Goa when about twenty-two years of age. When he was about sixty, he forsook his more than thirty years' work in Tonquin, left Paris before any of his plans had taken root, and went off to Persia under obedience. Jesuitism is almost typified by such a life.

We go back to the Bagotites in 1655, after the death of Pope Innocent X. It is difficult to wait when one is young and enthusiastic. Pique undertook a pastoral charge in Paris, and we have no further connection with him : Laval retired to a monastery at Caen, and it is there that he was brought into touch with Canada. Pallu remained

[1] The old régime in Canada.

in Paris ; and it is time that the unfolding of the missionary story pays some attention to his life. He was born in Tours in 1625 of a family of good position, filling posts for several generations in the higher branches of the legal profession. François had a vocation to the priesthood, and from his youth was held in high esteem for his blameless life and his good deeds. He had force of character and courteous manners, such as made him specially suited to influence men of good social position. He was known to be one who preferred to smooth out difficulties than to trample them out. He was always willing to spare both money and time when he could relieve sorrow and distress. In due course he had gone to Paris to pursue his studies, and had gravitated into the circle that gathered round Père Bagot.

At first the members of this association had lived in whatever lodgings they could find near to one another. Desiring closer fellowship and the advantages of quiet, they had next hired a house in the Faubourg S. Marcel. The legal training of the Pallu family seems to find some mark in the affection that Pallu, through all his life, had for drawing up plans and making orderly schemes. He now drew up a little rule of life or time-table, fixing the hours to be spent in prayer, work, works of piety, and in sleep. The fellowship outgrew its quarters, and had to move to a larger house. Its members were for the most part working in one or other of the slum parishes, then being served faithfully, much as in the early days of the Catholic Revival in England men were drawn to the poorest of the poor. The laymen here found ample scope for the activities of their spare time. In due course Pallu was ordained priest. There is no hint that he had ever felt drawn to the Oratory or to join the

Lazarists; there seemed every prospect that either he would be drawn to the work of a slum parish in Paris, or would return to Tours, to combine the priestly duties attached to the canonry that he held with additional work in the poorer parts of the city. In either place he would find scope for his natural talent for organization and administration.

No time had been lost. Already in 1653 a letter had gone from Paris to Rome, summing up the situation as it was seen there in the light of Rhodes' reports. They urged a native priesthood, and the appointment of Vicars-Apostolic. The letter was signed by the Archbishop of Reims, and, it is almost needless to add, by Vincent de Paul among others. Then in 1655 it was followed by a more weighty letter from the general assembly of the clergy of France. Meanwhile Pallu had returned to Tours, and 'our saintly little Canon,' as the people liked to call him, was taking up his old life with the additional duties incumbent on a faithful priest. He was waiting.

In 1657 he had a desire to go to Rome in company with some friends, a party of priests, who contemplated a visit. He went to Paris to make arrangements, and called on Madame the Duchess of Aiguillon, a niece of Richelieu. Her name has not hitherto been mentioned, but she was one whose interest had been aroused by Rhodes. Both in 1653 and again in 1655 she had contributed to the fund for the prospective bishoprics. She now insisted that Pallu should call on Mgr. Bagni when he was in Rome. Probably at her instigation, for she was necessarily a woman with influence, Pallu began to devote his energies entirely to the scheme, and the work must partly be begun again with the new Pope Alexander VII, and without the aid of

Rhodes. Relying on a decree of the Propaganda in 1651, the appeal was now made for bishops for the whole of further Asia. China specially seemed to be an open door. The Pope was reminded that his predecessors had sent bishops in the early days to France and to England, and that, if he would follow their example, the native priesthood existed in embryo in the catechists. Further, it was urged that the bishops should be *in partibus infidelium*, and directly attached to the Propaganda.

In some of these particulars, which were not more than dotting the ' i's ' and crossing the ' t's ' of Rhodes' initial appeal, special heed was taken of the Pope's difficult relationship with Portugal. The Pope himself had undoubted right to go anywhere throughout the world to evangelize it ; he might therefore be represented by his Vicars-Apostolic. There was no special novelty in this ; but a titular bishop might seem to encroach on the rights of Goa, whereas in one *in partibus infidelium* a courteous consideration of the position of the Archbishop of Goa was shown. To put these bishops under the direction of the Propaganda was a strong move. It linked them up closely with Rome ; there was an immense difference between this and, for example, handing over the work to the synod of the clergy of France. One cannot but think that Pallu was being seen in Rome to be level-headed.

In his younger days Alexander VII had wished to be a missionary. It seemed to him that now his old fervour was to be renewed, and the dreams of early life to find fulfilment. He appointed four cardinals to advise him. The visiting priests returned home, but Pallu stayed behind. It was time to send for Pierre de la Motte-Lambert, another of the little company of Bagotites, on

whom Pallu fixed his hopes, apparently not disturbing either of the two who had first been named with him. They seemed to have found their vocation.

If the Société des Missions Étrangères is a little touchy that any one should call Rhodes its founder, it is not less sensitive to any suggestion that Pallu and Lambert should be so named.[1] The fact is that the Society is very anxious that every one shall realize that, like Topsy, it 'growed.' To suggest that any one founded it, raises the suspicion that he laid down its constitution, gave it a bent in a special direction, and prevented it from expanding as it would. But, without fear of misrepresenting the Society's view, we may say that Pallu and Lambert were its first two missionary members and bishops. It is therefore excusable to introduce Lambert to our readers. He was born in the Diocese of Lisieux in 1624, and was, like Pallu, a member of a legal family. Left an orphan early in life, he had thought only how to use aright his considerable private means. When he was twenty-two years of age, and was engaged in practice at the Rouen courts, he was already spending two hours a day in meditation. He was ordained priest at Coutances, and appointed director of the general hospital at Rouen at a time when its finances were in a desperate state. He put these matters right, and for domestic reasons had gone to Annecy. Here Pallu's letter reached him, and he set off for Rome. If Pallu planned constitutions and rules, Lambert took over the work of getting money. Both were very practical; but Pallu was the statesman, and Lambert the irresistible personality. It is said of him that he was 'one who

[1] *Histoire Générale de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, par Adrien Launay 3 vols.

acquired great influence on all who came near him, and who persuaded them as he willed' ; a very useful type of man for raising money.

One example, that illustrates this character, bears directly on the development of events. Mgr. Mario Albérici was secretary of the Propaganda, and a very busy man. With great difficulty Lambert obtained a personal interview, promising that he would not trouble the secretary more than this once. The appointment was fixed for eight o'clock in the morning. The interview lasted until seven in the evening, and to this day no one knows what took place. But the four cardinals reported that there should be three bishops, that they should be appointed Vicars-Apostolic in China and the adjacent lands, and that two of them should be Pallu and Lambert. This was proposed on May 13, 1658 ; the Pope's consent was given on June 8th ; on August 17th Pallu was named as Bishop of Heliopolis, and Lambert as Bishop of Beryte, both *in partibus infidelium*. They returned to Paris to get together their follow missionaries, and Pallu was charged with the duty of finding the third bishop.

It was now that Pallu's far-seeing mind was of more value than hitherto, when he had shown fidelity of purpose, and a clear grasp of Rhodes' policy rather than any originality. He foresaw that if the missionaries were to do the work on the spot, there must be a home basis, properly constituted, and with its hands free, and that to those at home must be assigned the responsibility of finding the sinews of war. He called his old fellow Bagotite, Laval, from Caen, to help him with the training of missionaries, and he obtained permission from the Propaganda to establish a seminary. A house was bought as a temporary residence in the rue

St. Etienne-des-Grès, now called rue Cujas. In 1663, by arrangement with the Bishop of Babylon, a move was made to a corner house, between the rue de Bac and what is now known as the rue de Babylone. The official address of the superior is still 128 rue de Bac, Paris (7e).

The use of the word seminary in this connection calls for comment. We think of a seminary either as a school for aspirants for the priesthood (*petit seminaire*), or as a place of theological studies combined with a disciplined rule of life, such as S. Sulpice or a diocesan seminary. But the seminary conceived by Pallu was to be a training ground for priests who aspired to become missionaries. Within a few years he would be writing from Siam, that ' if you want to make missionaries you must make saints.' He did not think it self-centred, that in the seminary priests should be building up their own lives ; any other course would risk the losing of their souls in the conditions of missionary work among the heathen. Obviously the whole responsibility for this side of the mission must be entirely in the hands of the directors in France. They must find the priests and train them. These priests were not easily found. When there was a godly priest, who believed in missions and was willing to pray for them, it was very natural that he should think of the work to be done at home, and should seek to be a true pastor in some neglected district. So the Society soon found it necessary to urge the bishops to put before their ordinands the glory of the missionary call, and to invite the heads of seminaries to keep this vocation before their students.

When the missionary seminary was started, it began under M. de Meur, its first superior, a practice which seems to have a great deal to recom-

mend it. The priests were sent out, generally under older and more experienced missioners, to take part in short week-end parochial missions, and especially in the most rural districts. To be able to preach effectively to country yokels was not a bad test of ability to appeal to the uneducated people of Siam. And this mission was not aiming at the great ones of this world. Thus the missions of S. Vincent de Paul were being used in a new way, alike to the benefit of the villages and of the missionary seminarists. They had the effect, too, of stirring up interest in foreign missions. If we to-day are rejoicing that undergraduates and students of theological colleges are speaking about foreign missions up and down the country, while themselves are not under any pledge to become missionaries, it may yet be considered whether pledged missionaries may not be used to arouse us from indifference, not by preaching about foreign missions but by giving to us at home that full Gospel of divine love and grace which they think worth spending their lives to deliver in other lands.

As we take our leave here of this branch of our subject, it may be suitable to remark on the general conditions that have ruled from the first, and are in force to-day. This Society of secular priests is united as members of the same body, not by vows but by a rule approved by the Holy See, and by community of object, and by devotion to this work until death. The Vicars-Apostolic, the superiors of missions, the board of directors of the seminary, form the governing body. Priests must be under thirty-five years of age on entering the seminary, and must serve abroad for three years before they can become members of the Society.

In November, 1658, Pallu was consecrated in the basilica of S. Peter in Rome by Cardinal Antonio

Barberini. Ten months later there reached him a brief from the Pope, addressed to the most illustrious Seigneur François, Bishop of Heliopolis. He was given as his field of activity Tonquin and the adjacent parts, to Lambert was assigned Cochin China and the parts round about it, while the third bishop was to have Nanking, with the administration of Peking and other provinces in China, together with Corea and Tartary. When Pallu thought the time ripe for a fourth bishop, he might make readjustments in their respective spheres. He was authorized to ordain fit men in these countries, and for seven years he might dispense them from more than a minimum knowledge of Latin, sufficient for an understanding of the Mass and the sacramental formulae.

Lambert started in November, 1660 ; but Pallu had still work to do in France. We have seen how he entrusted to others the task of obtaining recruits ; and he had also work for godly laymen to do. Relying specially on his former friends, he established an association with monthly conferences on the necessity of foreign missions, and the right qualifications in missionaries. But a seminary must have money for its expenses, and the priests overseas must have food and clothing. Then, too, travelling expenses would be heavy. So if men held their conferences, women must raise the money. The Duchess of Aiguillon was again to the fore, and other aristocratic ladies followed suit. Louis XIV became a benefactor, and he was followed by Mazarin and Fouquet, by the general assembly of the clergy, and—as might easily be expected—a large sum was given by the members of his old Paris association. But Pallu also started an association of ladies of charity, which was to meet monthly at the house of the Duchess of Aiguillon, and to

keep itself acquainted with the work of the missionaries, and to furnish them with supplies. So the men were to find recruits, and the women were to find the money.

Apart from other questions of organization, which included a proper representation of the Society in Rome, great care was taken to see that everything was legally sound, and to secure that the priests overseas did not lose by absence from France any of their rights as citizens of their mother country. Two matters still called for attention : the third bishop must be found, and something must be done to get over the difficulty of Portuguese ships.

The first was the more easy problem. M. Cotolendi, curé of the parish of S. Magdalene of Aix, in Provence, a doctor of theology, aged thirty, had offered to go as one of the priests. A little story of him will show the sort of man Pallu sought for as a bishop. Cotolendi's aunt was a Religious, and she ought to have known better ; but she wanted to press a rich living on her nephew, and he asked her that she would rather pray that he might have poverty after the example of Jesus Christ. ' But what if God should wish to provide you with a mitre ? ' ' Aunt, you would please me better if you asked God for a crown of thorns for me.' He was already known as a guide of consciences. The Archbishop of Rouen consecrated him bishop during the octave of All Saints', 1660 ; and we hope that his aunt was satisfied.

When Mgr. Lambert started he had with him two priests ; one of them died in Siam in 1714, and the other in Tonquin in 1693. Cotolendi followed at the New Year, also with two priests ; the one died in Siam in 1693, and the other in Cochin China in 1670. The Bishop did not reach

his journey's end, but died of fever at Mazulipatam in August, 1662. When Pallu followed in due course, he had seven priests ; five of them died on the journey, another in Cochin China in 1671, and the last of them in Siam in 1690. Mgrs. Pallu and Lambert died, the one in Siam and the other in China. Thus of three bishops and eleven priests every one died at his post. It is probably wiser to-day, when journeys are comparatively easy and inexpensive, that missionaries should be superannuated ; but there is something stimulating in the thought of these fourteen.

The more difficult task to which Pallu was directing his mind was this problem of the journey. He must have known how perilous an undertaking it was to go to the Far East in any circumstances—the fear of storms, the risk of scurvy, the foetid atmosphere under decks in bad weather. These were, however, only the common lot of travellers, and missionaries could not make a fuss over what was taken as a matter of business by merchants. Much more serious was the long overland route to avoid the Portuguese. It was all very well, if there was nothing else to be done, to look at the bright side of things. One of the missionaries has called attention to the advantages of such journeys ; they gave opportunity to confer with other missionaries, who were to be found scattered all along the route ; missionaries should know something about simple medicine, and they could do a great deal of good among those who fell sick on the caravan routes ; it was useful training for them to become acquainted with all sorts of people and to learn to ' take no thought for yourselves, what ye shall eat.' Even brushes with Kurdish brigands had their use ; missionaries must be prepared to take risks and to face captivity.

But it was sound policy to seek a way of remedying this severe training, which his own first journey was to show could be very expensive of life. As far back as the year 1634 Propaganda had faced this Portuguese trouble, and had instructed its missionaries to Japan to try the route through Syria or Persia instead of using Portuguese vessels. Apparently the descendants of Jenghiz Khan were preferable to fellow Christians. Most explicit directions had now been given to Pallu and Lambert. As well as using the overland route, they were specially to avoid Macao ; they were to keep the purpose of their voyage secret, and they were advised to travel as Turks. A few other of the instructions show the lessons learned from bitter experience, of which we have a little knowledge. The missionaries must specially avoid dissensions, must never mix themselves with the political affairs of the country, nor receive royal favours ; they must exercise patience, humility, charity, and poverty.

At this time France had scarcely begun to think of a commercial fleet. There were a few bold privateers, but the navy was quickly neglected when it was not actually needed against England or Holland or Spain, and the people were indifferent to expansion in sea power. There were North American fishing fleets, but there was no ambition towards the deep water. The commercial struggle was between England and Holland, to seize the prize that was falling from Spain and Portugal. Although Pallu could find ministers of France who were interested in his ideas, and who wished to catch up in a race where others were ahead, it was not easy to build up a great fleet of trading ships, with a well-chosen selection of ports and factories, and a well-established trade. At the moment he

could only try to get a ship built in a Dutch port. The ill-fated boat was called *S. Louis*; and before it left the shipping yard there was a rumour that it was to be converted into a vessel of war. When this point was settled, the unlucky ship foundered in Dutch waters. This was in December, 1660, and forthwith Cotolendi started.

What was to be done? Portuguese vessels were out of the question. No Dutch captain would carry a Catholic missionary. British sailors were not more favourably inclined, and since the massacre of Amboyna our trade had died down in the Far East. Mazarin and Colbert heard of the loss of the *S. Louis*, and from now onwards Pallu could discuss with them the best ways of developing an Eastern commercial policy for Louis XIV. Thus it came to pass that free passages were ultimately given to all French missionaries in the ships of their East India Company. And when, after further experience had shown him what great opportunities of priestly service there were on a long voyage, Pallu appealed successfully that a chaplain should be provided on every one of these ships. But he could not wait while a fleet was being built, seeing that his brother bishops had already started. So he left France for his diocese in January, 1662, and reached Juthia in Siam in exactly two years.

The Père de Rhodes has left us good accounts of the earlier missionary work in Tonquin and Cochin China, and it was to these places that the missionaries were directed. But Pallu and Lambert found themselves in Siam, a country which, while suffering disturbances from the family feuds of the royal house, managed to go on with its normal life, and was the rendezvous of the foreign merchants. No attempt will be made to sketch the evangeliza-

tion of these parts ; we are more concerned with the personal life of Pallu and with his influence upon the development of the Society. It must suffice to say that these other spheres were not neglected more than the disturbed state of these countries, and the persecutions of Christians, made inevitable. Missionaries were sent at the risk of their lives again and again ; the native Christians were assisted, and within a few years the seminary in Siam was supplying them with priests.

It may seem unnecessary to add that the Portuguese were putting difficulties in the way. Before Pallu's arrival, Lambert had made acquaintance with them. The Archbishop of Goa came to Juthia, and having been shown the papal brief held by the Vicar-Apostolic, regretted that it was invalid owing to the lack of the Portuguese *exequatur*, or counter-signature for granting leave to proceed. Once the Bishop of Béryte found it prudent to seek an asylum with the leading Dutch merchant. *L'hérésie protégea les missionnaires contre les sujets du roi Très-Fidèle.* The two bishops now talked matters over, and realized that, serious as it was to send priests, to go themselves would so enfuriate the Portuguese that great trouble would fall on any native Christians who had dealings with them. It is thus that during the lifetime of Pallu the mission, which Rhodes sought first of all for Tonquin and Cochin China, remained the Mission to Siam, with the oversight of the other kingdoms.

The friendly shelter of the King of Siam gave Pallu and Lambert opportunity to grasp the situation firmly and to plan for the future. At this time was written *Monita ad Missionarios*, which under its French title of *Instructions aux Missionnaires* has become the *vade mecum* of the Society. We

must give rather more than passing attention to it. Missionaries are cautioned against such engrossment in active work that prayer is neglected, and the grace of the Holy Spirit is lost. Preaching must be prepared for by a time of prayer, and not only by study of the language. The scandals caused by some of the missions, with which we have made acquaintance, have evidently sunk into the heart of the Church. There are not to be any compromising commercial undertakings, nor may there be appeal to force: undue attention to arts and sciences is an evil with apostles, whose prime duty is to preach the Gospel. Instruction is given that in dealing with the pagans the missionaries' great weapons will be good example, charity, prudence, and moderation. Not until the catechumenate stage is reached, should they treat of such doctrines as the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, original sin, the inspiration of the Bible, and the constitution of the Church. The first heralding of the Word is the existence and attributes of the one God, the doctrine of rewards and punishments, and the beauty and purity of the Christian religion as contrasted with the morality of the pagans.

Very important are the sections that deal with the organization of the Church apart from foreign control; and on the lines now laid down the congregations of Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, Cambodia, and later in China, often flourished even without priests. A congregation under such conditions must choose one or two men, eminent in piety, who shall be known as 'Chiefs of the Christians.' They will be responsible for the conduct of public prayers and worship on Sundays and Holy Days. The outline of these services was schemed, and afterwards books were prepared with the desirable acts, prayers, and homilies. Thus

at morning prayers there were to be acts of faith, worship, and intercession ; the leaders will then direct the people's thoughts to the Holy Sacrifice, and help them to make an act of Spiritual Communion. Then they will recite three times the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary for the further spread of the Gospel, for the Holy Father, for bishops and other shepherds of souls, for princes and magistrates, for the pardon of sinners, for infidels, for the dead, for the prosperity of the country and its preservation from evil. After these devotions the Chief of the Christians will read a little homily, authorized by the Vicars-Apostolic, containing some simple instruction upon an article of the Faith, or commending some Christian duty or matter of conduct. In the afternoon they may meet again, say some prayers, and make an examination of conscience.

These same Chiefs were to be careful and diligent in the administration of Baptism, to attend to the sick, and bury the dead. Special attention must be given to prayers for the souls in purgatory, so that the pagans should have no excuse for thinking that the Christians indulged in any cultus of ancestor worship. The children are to be looked after and instructed, and widows and orphans cared for. Marriages must be celebrated in the presence of these Chiefs and with two or more witnesses ; and proper records are to be kept. Further directions follow for teachers and catechists and the ministry of women.

Then in the tenth and last sections the lines are laid down for the indigenous priesthood. Catechists of long standing are to be selected as deacons. During the diaconate they are to be taught practically how to administer the various Sacraments, they must receive some instructions on cases of

conscience, they will make an hour's meditation daily, and learn everything necessary to the proper administration of the Sacrament of the Altar.

While this book has deservedly secured permanence, another result of their time of deliberation met with less favour, both in Rome and Paris, and was dropped. Laval was indeed more responsible for it than was Pallu, but the latter loyally did his best to get it authorized. The Society was not to be a community of Religious ; but it was thought bold to trust solely to life-long continuance in one mind. Would all the priests who passed through the seminary stand this test ? The two bishops were planning for the future ; they expected to be a comparatively small body of European missionaries, training the native clergy and superintending their lives and ministry. Ought there not to be something of a binding character on the French seminarists, some rule too that would keep their lives up to the high level set forth in the *Instructions* ?

Early in 1665 Pallu started for Europe. He wanted to get the *Monita* approved ; he desired to recommend the scheme of life-vows ; he felt that his appeal for Siam to be included in their field of work was hanging fire ; and he sought for yet more definite provision against the Portuguese. So after one year he faced again the long overland journey. His reception was not altogether enthusiastic ; some of the best friends of the mission thought that his right place was overseas, and that he should trust the European directors to care for the mission's welfare.

It does not appear that Pallu was much moved by these signs of disapproval ; he knew what he was about. But again his business was held up by the death of a Pope. Alexander VII died in 1667.

The new Pope was Clement IX, and he proved himself to be a true and wise friend. At first all that Mgr. Pallu got was a favourable reception, a commendatory letter to Louis XIV, and papal encouragement to urge for still better support of the Missions Étrangères. These things made his position smoother in France.

In all missionary matters we need the long view. Take any missionary magazine and read it month by month ; it seems as if things made very little progress and there were periodical setbacks. Read a society's report annually, and the impression is that it is just holding its own. But now make a review of a missionary diocese, extending over fifty years, Uganda for example ; or take a society and compare its present position with a hundred years ago—the U.M.C.A. for example, after less than a century. We must not, then, be surprised that this new French society was not sending out large parties of priests, or providing for the work an income such as the S.P.G., for example, does not to-day consider equal to its needs. Pallu was able to give a fillip to the work.

The matter of the life-vows and rule of life found very few friends. The directors of the Society urged with great weight that bishops would have to be dispensed from the vow of obedience, and that the vow of poverty was not suited to them ; they ought to be able to help their priests in cases of need from their own resources. And a Society that sought to establish indigenous Churches should leave the bishops free to control their own affairs. M. Bourges,[1] who had gone out with Mgr.

[1] The history of the Missions Étrangères says that he reached London on July 20, 1665, and saw the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that Maria Theresa left Somerset House for France in June of

Lambert, and had been sent back by him after the trouble with the Archbishop of Goa, was not less emphatic. ' If one had got together a large company of S. Pauls and S. Francis Xaviers, one might be able to make a truly apostolic congregation, and to give it these ideas for rules.' When Pallu returned to Rome in 1668, the new superior of the seminary, M. Gazil, went with him. M. de Meur had died. Gazil was also unfavourable to the vows, and the decision of the cardinals was adverse. So the scheme was loyally put aside, and has never been renewed.

Pallu obtained everything else that he sought, and he was starting for the East with personal letters from the Pope and from Louis XIV to the King of Siam, who, while not being a very commendable person, was in the main supporting the mission and offering his country as an asylum to persecuted Christians. Then a sudden blow fell on the Vicar-Apostolic. At that period there was possibly no other bishop more highly esteemed than Mgr. Pavillon of Alet. He was born in Paris in 1597, had read S. Francis de Sales with great delight, and was intimate with Vincent de Paul. He had been consecrated in 1639. For years his saintly life, and his devoted journeys throughout his diocese, and his efforts to promote a pastoral spirit among his clergy, and to preach missions to the simple folk, had caused him to be very highly esteemed. But in 1656 the *Provincial letters* of Pascal had begun to stir up violent disputes, and Pavillon tried for a while to remain neutral. In 1663 calumnious charges were raised against him, shortly after he had broken his silence and was

that year. There is therefore a trifling discrepancy. We hope that the good priest left London before the Plague became virulent.

refusing to sign the condemnation of the Jansenist tenets. His position was that he was ready to condemn any teaching that Rome condemned, but that he was not satisfied that the declared errors were as a matter of fact to be found in Jansen's book. S. Sulpice and the Lazarists were against him, and urged him to submit. The esteem in which he was held made it almost intolerable to the authorities that he should show such obstinacy. It gave support to the Jansenists. He was finally persuaded, almost entrapped, into signing a compromise, and the affair calmed down. But Pallu's visit to him was when he was in great disfavour and was regarded as a friend of the Jansenists. His visit had nothing to do with Jansenism; but perhaps a parallel can be suggested. When Bishop Gray of Cape Town was at the height of his controversy with Bishop Colenso, and was being denounced as a violent and tyrannical Puseyite, and one who defied the law of the land, what would have been thought in ecclesiastical circles if it were reported that he had paid a visit to Cardinal Manning? There would be cries that these colonial bishops must be stopped, dread lest the Archbishop of Canterbury should take strong action, fear that missionary funds would suffer, alarm on the one side that we were fast going over to Rome, and on the other that yet further repression of the High Churchmen would follow.

Pallu had made a very natural error of indiscretion. Happily he knew the storm that he had raised, and was able to still it before he set sail. In a long statement, asserting his faith in the Holy Catholic Church and all that it teaches, and his obedience to it in every respect, he concluded with a 'fifthly'—'The Church having, then, condemned the doctrine of the book of Jansenius in the five

propositions that are cited, I hold it as undoubted that every faithful person is obliged in conscience to submit to its judgement and to condemn what it condemns.' And he proceeded to do so, and to do it whole-heartedly. So the matter ended, and the Missions Étrangères was purged of any suspicion of Jansenism.

While he was in Europe Pallu had written a little book, *Relation abregée des missions et des voyages des evesques françois envoyez aux Royaumes de la Chine, Cochin Chine, Tonquin, et Siam,* which was published in Paris the same year (1668), with a dedication to the Archbishops and Bishops and Clergy of France. It is a simple narrative of his journeys, with a few letters from Mgr. Lambert. Only the most cautious reference is made to the ecclesiastical troubles with the Portuguese ; and the book seems to have been written at least partly to explain why the two bishops were in Siam rather than in Tonquin and Cochin China, and partly to satisfy the public about his return to Europe. There is a quaint flattery of the King, whose favours are duly acknowledged. ' As he imitates the sun in his activity, so too he wishes to resemble it in the extent of his influence, and to make us feel the effects of it even in places most distant from his presence : his design is one that shall contribute to make God known, for principally he proposes to establish a *Compagnie Royale,* which will spread its fleets in every part of the East, and it can be said that it will greatly contribute to the propagation of the Faith.' Six years later the superior and directors of the seminary produced a somewhat larger book, dealing in four parts with Siam, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Tonquin respectively.

Before this time Pallu had returned, taking six new priests, two doctors, and a tailor. They

started in 1670, and their journey lasted three years. They were able now to go in a French boat, which called at the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, and Surat. In Madagascar he had opportunity to discuss the Chinese Rites with Navarette.[1] The situation was still favourable in Siam ; a brief arrived asserting in the most emphatic language the independence of these Vicars-Apostolic from any control or authority of the Archbishop of Goa. It was judged well to choose a successor to Cotolendi, and he was to be known as the Bishop of Metellopolis. Mgr. Pallu favoured Chevreuil, and Lambert proposed Laneau. Each bishop was satisfied that his choice was the right one ; neither had the slightest desire to force his selection on the other. It did not apparently strike them to decide the matter by choosing an inferior person, who would be acceptable to both of them. They sought another solution, which may not commend itself to us, but was agreeable to them because it had apostolic precedent. They cast lots. ' Lord, Who knowest the hearts, show which of these two priests Thou hast chosen for the episcopal ministry.' Pallu drew the lot, and the name was Laneau. Lambert was surprised, and begged that the lots might be drawn again. The process was repeated, and the same name was drawn. Then both bishops fell on their knees and thanked God.

Pallu thought that the situation was favourable to his entry into Tonquin. Owing to a storm he had to make a forced landing in a French boat on the Philippine Islands, and war was impending between Spain and France. After a period of semi-confinement, he was sent to Spain in 1675, to be interrogated by the Council of the Indies. He was sent by way of Mexico, and landed in Spain

[1] See p. 106.

in November of the next year. He was courteously received by Carlos II, and was allowed to proceed to Rome, where he was promptly cleared. We may be sure that the bishop was not idle ; it was his opportunity to press forward his policy of the indigenous ministry by supplying it with its own bishops. The busy cardinals, on whom fell the responsibility of advising the Pope, did not act with the rapidity that the zealous Pallu desired, and he told the Pope that he was like the poor paralytic who was always forestalled when the waters were troubled. However, matters were settled in due course ; the areas of the vicars-apostolic were readjusted, and Pallu found himself the head of all the Chinese missions, with Lambert in charge of all the others. There were to be six great vicariates, and some native bishops might be consecrated. By a bull of 1678 all the missionaries of the Far East, now and henceforth, of whatever order, society, or congregation, were to take an oath of obedience to the Vicars-Apostolic. The bold decision was not likely to be acceptable to every one on the mission field ; even Louis XIV opposed it for some months, on the ground that it limited his authority over his subjects.

While these negotiations were going on Mgr. Lambert died at Juthia (June 15, 1679). It is said that French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Japanese attended the funeral, and that the King of Siam was officially represented. When the first Japanese bishop in communion with the English Church died, the loss was known in London the next day.[1] It is doubtful whether Mgr. Pallu knew that his old friend and co-Vicar-Apostolic had passed from this world when for the third and last time he left Europe in 1681. In June,

[1] Bishop Motoda of Tokyo died 1928.

1683, soon after he had fulfilled his first duties on returning to the East, Pallu started for China with Maigrot,[1] and was seized by bandits and taken to Formosa. During five months of captivity he gave himself to prayer and to reading the Bible, feeling that the public affairs of his life had not left him sufficient time for these duties. He reached China in January. Necessarily he had given thought to the vexed question of the Rites, but, unlike many, who can lay down the law on a minimum of knowledge, he had reserved judgement until he could hear on the spot what was to be said on both sides.

To us, who have a little acquaintance with the scandals which were to follow, it must appear that the divine Wisdom is often most inscrutable in withdrawing His servants when they seem critically essential to human affairs.[2] Pallu felt himself to be a dying man. He wrote his last words to the Sovereign Pontiff: 'The Chinese, whom I have seen and to whom I have administered Confirmation, have been filled with joy to learn that the Holy See is sending bishops to China, to guide them in the footsteps of our Saviour, and to raise some of them to the priestly dignity.' He died on October 29, 1684; and with him the first Vicars-Apostolic of the Missions Étrangères passed away.

If the story of Pallu's life has been properly told, we shall have seen how one great missionary society came to birth, and how, from its inception, it began to solve two grave disadvantages that had characterized the missions of Spain and Portugal. The unhappy concessions to Portugal had been

[1] See p. 104.

[2] Not long before writing these lines the writer had heard of the death of Temple Gairdner in Cairo, which grievous loss to scholarship illustrates these words.

the source of great damage to the Oriental missions, by encouraging the confusion, common to those centuries, between the proper work of the missionary representatives of a country and its political aims and commercial ambitions ; a confusion that was increased by the fact that the Eastern potentates shared in it. The lack of bishops, and a certain reluctance to throw the new Churches upon their own responsibility and the discovery of their own spiritual powers, had been a source of great weakness, sometimes because the supply could not keep pace with the increasing demands for pastoral and sacramental care. For in these centuries, as in the early days of the Church, the growth of the Church was not solely dependent on the evangelizing labours of foreign missionaries. The indigenous Christians moved from place to place, or were scattered by persecution, and they carried their religion in their own persons, and spoke to others of the Saviour in Whom they believed, and for Whom they suffered. The limits of these sketches have made impossible any attempt to present this expansion of Christianity, and the necessity of dealing mainly with disputes has obscured the full beauty of the missions. We might have passed lightly over such matters as Spanish misconduct in the New World, Portuguese misuse of missions, the Chinese Rites, and Christian Brahmanism, and have written of the interior life of the missionaries, their devotion under persecution, the courage of the new Christians, and their zeal in propagating the Faith. But it would have been another book.

A NOTE ON THE SOCIÉTÉ DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES

THE purpose of this note is to connect the missions of the French Church before the Revolution with the revival of their work after Napoleon. Before the death of Pallu the Society had succeeded in getting its work started in Tonquin, Cochin China, and Cambodia as well as in establishing its work in Siam. It had just entered China, and was beginning some work in Persia. Its Canadian work was substantially inaugurated. The general policy of the Society has not changed ; it is still a Society of secular priests ; it maintains its original relation with the Propaganda ; it still has for its main object the extension of the native priesthood. In this aim will be found one of its great lessons to all missionary societies, if they too will see to it that the priests are thoroughly trained in character, self-discipline, and knowledge. The work of foreign missionaries can only healthily be to lay the foundations of the Church in non-Christian countries. To attempt to build it, to keep it under foreign control, to distrust the Holy Ghost in the Church, can only end in disaster, as it only springs from radical misconception of the nature of the Church. Men talk to-day, with seeming broad-mindedness, of the contribution of the Oriental Churches to the life of the whole Church. There is another side, and it is often ignored. The task of the Church in every country is to raise the whole tone of that country's life to an increasing approximation to the spirit of the Kingdom of God. But an Oriental Church under Western influence cannot do this ; its spirit is not national, but at the best hybrid. Only a Church freely living its own life, breathing its own national spirit, can form the character of a nation. The weakest spot in our modern missions is that their converts seem compelled to become anti-missionary when their national spirit is aroused ; they should have learned a true nationalism from their teachers.

If, now, we look a little beyond the days of Pallu, we shall find that at about the middle of the eighteenth century the French missionaries had been driven out of China and Cochin China, and that they were very few in Tonquin and Siam. Yet,

in spite of persecution, the native Churches continued to exist, because they had a native priesthood. Shortly before the Revolution there had been a revival ; there was a mission in China, three establishments in Indo-China (namely Tonquin, Cochin China with Cambodia, and Siam), and one in India, which had taken over the work at Pondicherry on the suppression of the Jesuits. There were forty-four European bishops and priests, and about one hundred and ten indigenous priests, who had sustained the Christians under persecution, with the valuable assistance of the catechists. These last were reckoned to be from four to five hundred itinerating catechists and about two thousand resident. Most of them were living under Religious obedience ; and ' The Lovers of the Cross,' which Lambert had inaugurated, were spread all over Indo-China, and set a high standard of life before all the native Christian women and girls. Even as late as this date the Portuguese had not ceased their opposition. The Persian work had come to an end for some time, because it was too far removed from its other establishments.

The Revolution almost shattered for a time the whole fabric of the Society ; the directors were dispersed, and the seminary in Paris was seized and sacked. When it was hoped, in 1809, that quieter times would enable the Society to reconstitute its enterprises, it was unexpectedly suppressed. Matters slowly righted themselves. In 1816 the first priest left France since 1807 ; two went out in 1817, and six in 1818. In this year the house in the rue de Bac was restored to the Society by the French Government.

A new era of missions began after the restoration of settled government in France. The days when they found royal patrons and great ladies to uphold them had given place to an age when missionary work must be democratic or go under. Those who were thinking upon these matters, and how best to revive the work that had been all but suppressed by the Revolution, were praying and asking for prayers. One of the priests of the Missions Étrangères, M. Langlon, had first gone to Tonquin in 1792, and had later been brought to Europe for the Society's work. Napoleon had expelled him from Rome in 1812, and he had been living at Rennes under police supervision. In 1818 he began to publish, in eight volumes, the *Nouvelles lettres édifiantes*, which are well known even at the present time.

We must turn to the city of Lyons, where Bishop Dubourg had aroused interest by the description of his work in New

Orleans. There was a very small association to supply him with funds, and its interest in missions was increased by reading the letters of Langlon, descriptive of the earlier work of the Missions Étrangères in Indo-France. In 1820 Pauline Jaricot, of the same city, heard of this mission from her brother, who was a seminarist of S. Sulpice, and she asked for people's prayers, and sent the first of her many donations to the Society. In 1821 Father Inglesi came to Europe, to further the design of Bishop Dubourg of getting small subscriptions on a larger scale. Among the few friends of his work was Mme Petit, whose husband had been murdered in San Domingo in 1795 during the risings. She was now residing in Lyons, and Father Inglesi was in touch with her. It was here, together with the help of the Marquis d'Azeglio, that the *Propagation de la Foi* was conceived. D'Azeglio was an exile for his share in the Carbonari rising, and was aide-de-camp of Charles Albert, afterwards King of Sardinia and Piedmont. This devout Catholic was a friend of M. Petit, and in his mother's house he made suggestions for the organization of the collections, and gave the device *Ubique per orbem*. The Society was formed on May 3, 1822; its members were to recite daily a *Pater*, an *Ave*, and the invocation *S. François Xavier, priez pour nous*. Each member was to give five centimes a week, and to make special observance of the festivals of Holy Cross and S. Francis Xavier.

In the following year Pope Pius IX gave his special blessing and some indulgences to this new association, which in its first year had raised 42,960 francs. They had given 12,220 of this total to the Missions Étrangères, in which they were specially interested. The *Propagation de la Foi* spread rapidly through France; the bishops commended it, and the priests collected the subscriptions with the help of local almoners. The universality of its scope, supporting all missions, and the modesty of its appeal which enabled the very poorest to be members of it, went direct to the heart of modern France. It has now extended beyond the borders of France and is become 'the nourishing mother of all Catholic missions.'[1] In 1922 Pope Pius XI transformed its chief centre from France to Rome, and gave it a revised organization. In the year 1923 its receipts were 31,723,334 francs.

We have not associated the name of Mlle Jaricot closely with the foundation of the *Propagation*. Her prayers helped it, but she was not directly in its counsels. But some years later Mgr. de Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy, was wanting

[1] B. Arens, S.J., *Manuel des Missions Catholiques*, 1925.

to do something in particular for the heathen children of China ; but he was perplexed to know what to do, as he was very anxious not to damage the *Propagation*, or to compete with it. He paid a visit to Mlle Jaricot in 1842, and, as generally happens when God is setting something to work, he found her already concerned about the same children. It was her moment. She conceived the idea that the children of Europe could spare one sou a month, sixty centimes a year, and so make ' either little angels or apostles ' out of the poor heathen children. The *Sainte-Enfance* came into existence in 1843, within the fellowship of the *Propagation*. Each child says daily some little prayers. The receipts in 1923 were 11,679,935 francs.

It is very easy for superior persons to laugh at missionary magazines and papers. From time to time attention has been called in these chapters to the direct stimulus to foreign missions that come from the precursors of our modern missionary literature. It must be admitted that they were not so attractive in their form, or as popular in their matter, as is the output of any missionary society to-day. The Propagation of the Faith published its first volume in 1828, and its first English edition in 1838 : [1] the *Annales de l'oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance* was first published in 1848, and its first English edition in 1854.

We began this chapter with the foreign missionary work of France at the opening of the seventeenth century, and with Canada. It was not intended to imply that there were not already French missionaries, who were members of the Religious Orders, working in all parts of the world. We have carried down its independent enterprises to the present time, and have seen the revival after the events that distracted the country from 1789–1815. We have seen that this recovery was due to simple prayers and to several small undertakings ; we have seen that these undertakings spread rapidly, because they were suited to the conditions of the poor, and to the people who pray simple prayers. But we must not forget that these associations, so insignificant in their beginnings, spread because the parochial clergy found them a means of appealing to their flocks. They did not extend over all France by elaborate organization, but through people.

France has been through the years of 1914–18, and even more disastrously than ourselves ; and like us is still struggling

[1] Probably 1837, the date of an Irish edition, which presumably is printed in English.

to recover its full life in all directions. Yet in 1923 the Society of the Missions Étrangères had forty-three bishops and eleven hundred and twelve priests at its missions, and reckoned its indigenous priests at about twelve hundred and fifty.[1] This is an encouragement to us. It may have been noticed that in the earlier chapters there was a good deal that had to be written, of which no one will to-day approve ; when we came to France it was impossible to restrain one's admiration of the work in Canada, or of the inception of its great secular missionary society. Every effort has been made, within the limits of truthfulness, to excuse the earlier errors from the worst construction, and to throw the blame mainly on the ideas of the time and on the novelty of the situation, and the inexperience of the missionaries. And from las Casas to Pallu there has been a constant stream of life poured out, generously and unsparingly. Such life is not lost to the native lands of these missionaries ; it is lives such as these that raise the Home Church from the self-satisfied level of the commonplace virtues.

We have perhaps yet to learn that, in place of appeals to pray for money and for workers for the foreign missions of the Church, which seem to leave the bulk of our congregations cold and apathetic, where these activities are regarded as extra-parochial, the plain statement of the self-sacrifice and courage which the Holy Spirit inspires to-day in the hearts and lives of those who give themselves to the world for God's sake, and the evidence of His work in the newly-born within the Churches which are beginning now to affect the national character of their people, are the most powerful means for reviving in ourselves a genuine faith in the Gospel as the power of God unto salvation.

[1] *Manuel des Missions Catholiques.* This book gives the dates of the foundations of mission areas. Of the Société des Missions Étrangères, the following are recorded : Indo-China, 1662, and from 1856 ; China, 1702–4, and from 1841 ; British India, 1776 ; Corea from 1836 ; Japan from 1844.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

AN attempt must be made to reach some general conclusions from this partial survey of missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We ought to be far enough away from those times to be able to view them dispassionately, escaping from the emotions of enthusiasm and prejudice that so easily bias men's judgements. Admiration for heroic daring and splendid self-sacrifice must not lead us, from a sense of loyalty to good men, to defend errors of judgement or mistaken application of principles ; nor would we be of those who find it difficult to see what is good because it is not our own form of goodness. Enthusiasm may tempt some to say that nobody can really work missions but the Roman Catholics with their splendid organization and discipline; prejudice may lead others to the conclusion that a plausible and attractive presentation has not shaken their conviction that there is something very suspiciously Jesuitical in what went on in the Far East.

Something will have to be said about the popular impression of the Jesuits in the minds of Englishmen, but the main purpose of this final chapter is to consider certain differences between the times of the Emperor Charles V and our own days as they affect the criticism of missionary policy and conduct.

The first great difference is that religious tolera-

tion, as it is understood to-day, was then unknown in any part of European society. It required religious controversies and wars, such as for a long time divided Europe into hostile camps, to bring men slowly and painfully to the conviction that the religious beliefs and practices of the individual are his own private responsibility, and are not the concern of the State, provided that he does not damage or annoy his neighbour in expressing them. It is one of the peculiar prejudices of popular history that this inability to grasp religious tolerance is the particular characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church. Professor J. B. Bury, among others, has done what he can to correct this impression. 'It is an elementary error, but one which is still shared by many people who have read history superficially, that the Reformation established religious liberty and the right of private judgement. What it did was to bring about a new set of political and social conditions, under which religious liberty could ultimately be secured, and, by virtue of its inherent inconsistencies, to lead to results at which its leaders would have shuddered. But nothing was further from the minds of the leading Reformers than the toleration of doctrines differing from their own. They replaced one authority by another. . . . The religious wars were not for the cause of freedom, but for particular sets of doctrines; and in France, if the Protestants had been victorious, it is certain that they would not have given more liberal terms to the Catholics than the Catholics gave to them.[1]

[1] *History of Freedom of Thought.* See especially chaps. iv, v. Religious intolerance was not confined to Christians. For an anathema pronounced against Spinoza by the Jews of the Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam in 1656 see Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, first series.

A second important consideration, and closely connected with the state of mind that has just been described, is that in the centuries with which we have been concerned missionaries were not able to distinguish clearly between their obligations to their religion and to their country. They felt themselves to be the religious representatives of their country. It is difficult to-day to think of a more damaging criticism of any mission than that its agents are pushing the interests of their country's commerce or its political advantage. Even to whisper that the missionaries engage in private trade will withdraw support from the general public. It may be remembered that recently a well-known missionary society compelled an author to publish an apology, because he had insinuated that its workers were interested in trade. Even more recently public attention has been directed to the relation between a missionary agency and a company with which it has been associated.

But missionaries of a somewhat earlier date would have been incapable of understanding what is meant by an accusation that they abused their privileges when they fostered the trade monopoly of their country. Great misfortunes followed from this confusion of loyalties ; but it was not because others were scandalized that the flag followed the Bible, but only that a particular country secured what the missionaries of other countries desired for their own nation. An even worse evil was done when Dutch or English traders penetrated into these non-Christian countries, and had no missionary agents whatever.

Portugal, Spain, and France took their religion seriously. Their kings knew that they were Catholic monarchs, and they recognized that they were under religious obligation to propagate the Chris-

tian Faith. Portugal and Spain were given the lands of their discovery on the condition that they taught the people the way of God ; France realized its responsibility in North America, and its kings supported missionary work elsewhere. One must not make the mistake of supposing that if a certain king was not a model of good conduct his patronage of these evangelists was a piece of disgusting hypocrisy. To think in such a way would be to mistake the century with which one is dealing. But unfortunately Holland and England, which were their rivals in trade, did not share in this sense of responsibility. If, therefore, we regret that certain countries made a false application of national responsibility when their missionaries thought of themselves as agents of their sovereigns, we shall not allow ourselves to regard their error as comparable with the failure of these other countries to see in their commercial enterprises a call that ' where a trader can go for gain, there the missionary ought to go for the merchandise of souls.' [1]

In 1924 the late Dr. Ogilvie expanded in book form his Duff missionary lecture of the previous year. He does not advocate a policy ; he records facts. But it will be due to the reader's lack of imagination if he does not realize from the chapter on ' Recognition of the Empire by Christian Missions ' that inevitably the missionaries of two to three centuries earlier, who went out under royal protection and patronage, could not escape from mental confusion between religion and the material interests of their country. It was in 1837 and not in 1637 that John Williams in his dedicatory preface to William IV wrote that ' in prosecuting the one great object to which their lives are consecrated, the missionaries will keep in view whatever may

[1] Bishop Selwyn.

promote the commerce or the science as well as the religious glory of their beloved country.' [1]

Another consideration to which great weight should be attached is the experimental character of these pioneer labourers. The European missionaries went forth with a poor equipment for their task. They knew the Catholic Faith, and they knew Islam as the religion of the False Prophet, whose followers were the terror of the seas, and the great commercial rivals of their countries. They knew vaguely also that the heathen worshipped idols or devils, and the impression that had been made by contact with the West African coast, and afterwards with the West Indies and Central America, led them to regard the pagans as ignorant and barbarous people. Our sketches have dealt with the first modern efforts to convert countries that possessed ancient civilizations, philosophies, and religions. It was an entirely new experience. It should not surprise us that the inhabitants of these lands sought to explain their faiths and religious practices as agreeably as they could to these newcomers, or that in the first surprise of this startling discovery the Christian preachers should have grasped eagerly at what seemed to be common ground, a foundation on which to build, a glorious proof that the Christian revelation is the coping-stone to that building which the divine Architect has been erecting from the foundation of the world.

To-day the missionary is culpable if he makes great errors which a careful study of the past might have avoided. The early missionaries had to make their mistakes for the benefit of those who came after them. We have learned that the Sacrament of Baptism must be administered with care; but it has taken a long time to convince

[1] *Our Empire's Debt to Missions*, chap. ii.

missionaries that this is so. S. Francis Xavier was a great offender. It is easy to see, also, that many of the earlier missions made the mistake of trying to cover too much ground. The first Protestant missionaries made the same mistake, and in their eagerness attempted more than they were able to superintend thoroughly. Experience is the most expensive commodity purchasable in the market of life.

It has frequently been charged against these pioneer missions that they neglected to train up an indigenous priesthood. Then, when persecution arose, and the foreign priests were expelled, the native Christians were left without shepherds. But when one remembers how difficult it was at a later date for the Anglican Church to provide bishops for its own subjects in America, one will not be surprised that it was only in the middle of the seventeenth century that this need was seriously faced and a supply of bishops *in partibus infidelium* was undertaken. The missionaries were often priests of great learning; even when they were not so, they were men who had studied theology in all its branches greatly beyond what is expected of the candidates for Holy Orders to-day in the Anglican Church. Moreover, it did not come within the imagination of the European leaders of the Church that any other language than Latin could be used for the Sacraments. How, then, should these missions have trained up a native priesthood as one of their first tasks? What ecclesiastical organization existed in Europe for covering the world with diocesan bishops authorized to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over an indigenous priesthood?

These are some examples of the difficulties which only long experience could hope to surmount. And

for a few centuries the opportunity of frequent conference with the Home authorities was hard to find. The sea voyages were long and beset by dangers ; the missionaries were often scattered by persecution : they were not able to fall back upon settled policy, the garnered experience of their predecessors. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even the eighteenth century, should not be criticized from the vantage ground of the latter part of the nineteenth.

It is regarded rightly as a canon of historical criticism that one must not pass judgement on religious movements from a standard that is contrary to their fundamental convictions. The Crusades may be judged severely, because while they were undertaken by the Christian nations to wrest the holy sites from the possession of the infidels, they were ruined because these nations quarrelled among themselves. But they must not be condemned because they were crusades and not modern missions. The Roman Catholic missions may be criticized severely because too often the jealousy of one Religious Order against another, or of the missionaries of one country against those of another country, damaged their work. But they ought not to be criticized because they were Roman Catholic.

It is, however, almost beyond denial that the history of modern missions is generally dated in England from the end of the seventeenth century, or even from the end of the eighteenth century, and not from the discoveries of the New World, because these earlier missions were Roman Catholic. The Englishman who knows something about John Eliot, David Brainerd, the Danish mission at Tranquebar, William Carey, Robert Morrison,

John Williams, Henry Martyn, and Samuel Marsden, usually has only heard of one of the following: Giovanni di Monte Corvino, las Casas, Francis Xavier, Ricci, Juan Fernandez, Robert de Nobili, de Britto, Beschi, Pallu, and de la Motte Lambert. He may have read of the Jesuit missions in Canada, because of Parkman; he almost certainly does not know that a college for the training of missionaries was founded in Rome early in the seventeenth century, and that a missionary society of secular priests was established in Paris nearly fifty years before the S.P.G. came into existence.

These Roman Catholic missions have suffered from some undeserved censures, because of certain grave faults that have wrongly been fixed upon Roman Catholicism in popular fancy. It ought not, however, to be necessary to-day to state that modern slavery has nothing to do with Roman Catholicism as such. It was an evil practice taken over from the Moors by Spain and Portugal, and, when those countries learned that an inexhaustible supply was to be found in West Africa, the lucrative trade was enthusiastically cultivated by every nation that had the opportunity to share in its profits. England has been the greatest sinner.

The first sketch presents an appalling picture of the destruction of human life that followed upon the discovery of the New World. It would be painful to one's national pride to call attention to some things that have happened in more recent times in another part of the world where there were great discoveries. Human nature does not alter; but the experience of the sixteenth century ought to have had lessons for the nineteenth. It was not because the discoverers of the New World were Roman Catholics that these awful deeds took place, but because men were drunk with the greed of wealth.

There is here and there a lurking suspicion that the earlier missions of the post-Reformation period were sometimes nearly wiped out by a judgement of God upon them, and that if they had not been in the hands of Roman Catholics a better fate might have befallen them. The history of the nineteenth century seems to show that a similar fate would have overtaken later missions if it were not that by this time the European dominance was beginning to be felt. No one can compare the situation in India in the days of Akbar and his successors with the lot of missionaries there under the powerful protection of the East India Company. The history of modern missions elsewhere in the East has been powerfully helped by the existence of the British Navy. But what actually almost brought to a close the earlier chapter—which was the predominant period of the Roman Catholic missions—was not the expulsion of foreigners, for the missionaries did not cease altogether even when they were strictly forbidden, but the French Revolution.

From these general remarks we must turn to a specific problem. Many of these Roman Catholic missions were in the hands of the Jesuits, and it is not to be denied that there is a strong prejudice against the Jesuits ; nor can it be denied that for different reasons the prejudice has foundation. Especially in two countries their mission policy has also been generally condemned, and there is no question to-day of reviving it. It is as discarded as the policy of compulsory conversion or the practice of slavery. But good men in the past have had slaves, and have made people Christian by coercion. In their proper places these policies have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present them as they may have appeared to

good men in the particular circumstances of their day.

This, however, is the place for a few general reflections upon the popular English opinion of the Jesuits.[1] Of the murder of Henry IV of France, and of the Jesuit plots in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, nothing more can be said than that, whether or not the Society as a whole can be cleared of all direct responsibility, its reputation has been tarnished. And it is a significant fact that when an official inquiry was made in China into what is known as the matter of the 'Chinese rites,' and the papal representative nearly died from what, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, must be regarded as an attack of colic, it was widely believed by other Roman Catholic missionaries that the Jesuits had attempted to poison him. We must confine our attention, how-

[1] Campbell, the author of *The Jesuits*, 1534–1921 (The Encyclopaedia Press, London), opens his first chapter with the words, 'The name "Jesuit" has usually a sinister meaning in the minds of the misinformed.' He gives interesting examples of the use of the word prior to the foundation of the Society of Jesus. Thus 'The great life of our Lord Jesus Christ' (*c.* 1350), by the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony, has the words, 'Just as we are called Christians when we are baptized, so we shall be called Jesuits when we enter into glory.' And the followers of S. John Columbini made frequent use of the expression 'Praised be Jesus Christ,' and were therefore called Jesuati. But in the period near to the Reformation, when these were suffering from laxity, and used the expression perfunctorily, the word Jesuit began to become a synonym for hypocrite. This perhaps explains the curious question in an 'Examen of conscience' (1519): 'Did I omit to teach the Word of God for fear of being called a Pharisee, a Jesuit, a hypocrite, a Beguine?'

The first reference to the word in English, as given in Murray's *A New English Dictionary*, is in the Cecil papers: 'Ye multitude of Iesuitts.' This is in the year 1559, and the reference is obviously to the members of the Society of Jesus.

ever, to an estimate of the missionary policies of the Jesuits in India and China, and the possible influence upon them of the spirit of the Society.

It is to be remarked, in the first place, that these policies were opposed in both countries by men not less eager than were the Jesuits to convert the nations to which they were devoting their lives. One would like to know why the Jesuits saw no danger in what others were denouncing; was it merely that others were more far-seeing than were the Jesuits? Secondly, one would like to know why it was that, when these policies had matured and their fruits could be seen, the Jesuits continued to support them and did not rather anticipate the final authoritative judgement of the Papal See? These seem to us serious criticisms, and they are not to be put aside by the insinuation that the other Religious Orders were jealous of the Jesuits as a new society. Further, it is not to be denied that if certain facts in the history of this Society have created a prejudice against it, it will doubtless dispose people in later times to think the worst of it. But to suggest that every argument that is used against a particular policy of the Jesuits is to be put aside on the assumption that it is based on prejudice, brings to an end any possibility of historical criticism.

The chapters that deal with these particular questions of Jesuit policy must plead for themselves, whether they have shown a good case for the Jesuits; but they do not answer the two awkward questions which have been put in the preceding paragraph. The writer cannot hide his conviction that the answer to them is that there was something in the character of Jesuit training which made its members less sensitive to certain dangers than were other good men. He thinks that he is

not exaggerating when he adds that he sees signs of the same deficiency in the moral theology of the Jesuits as evidenced by the writings of the seventeenth century. He rejects without hesitation the vulgar charge that they held the opinion that we may do evil that good may come ; but he thinks that the Jesuits were trained to a certain subtlety, and, if he may be permitted a vulgarism, to a certain slimness of conscience. It is a curious fact or coincidence that both in China and in India the practices adopted by the Jesuits, which have been discontinued, are just such as would be popularly called 'Jesuitical.'

In casuistry the question continually arises, how far one may go in order to win another. May one argue with a business man that he ought to support missions because they encourage trade ? May one invite a mother to let her children attend one's Sunday School because they will get a better treat, when one's real reason is that the children will be taught other than they are learning in their present school ? One person will find that to smoke and drink with a man, in the hope of gaining a good influence upon him, partakes of the nature of sin ; but another will do these things and more, and do them to the glory of God. It has been remarked that S. Francis Xavier gambled with the Portuguese sailors on board ship in order to restrain their blasphemies and to have an opportunity to win them to God. But of course he was a Jesuit.

What the writer thinks is that the training of the Jesuits led them to stretch a doubtful point, to go further than most men in being all things to all men, in accommodating themselves to men's weakness for the sake of gaining them, in playing upon their ignorance in order to obtain a hearing. There

will always be laxists and rigorists in the Christian Church ; we must hope that they counterbalance each other. The Jesuit tendency was to be daring in order to win a soul at all costs. No Christian is justified in getting drunk, but one minister of religion may by his severity drive a drunkard to despair or cause a communicant who has sinned by inadvertence to give up the practice of his religion, and another may risk the charge of thinking lightly of drunkenness.

In the absence of experience as a guide, the Jesuits started on certain lines of policy, and they were unwise in doing so to the extent and in the particular methods adopted ; but they did so in perfectly good faith. Those who followed the inauguration of these policies made it a matter of loyalty to uphold their predecessors' actions ; it became a matter of honour within the Society. The Society must be right at all costs. We do not mean that these men saw clearly that they were doing wrongly and yet were willing to do so. We mean that the policy was congenial to their special education, and that the discipline of obedience helped to blind their eyes to what others saw. They would be less ready to see these dangers, because the charges were not made by their own superiors but by other Religious Orders ; and they could not forget that they were following in the steps of a saintly Father of their Society.

Great weight must be given to the strength of early post-Reformation feeling against Roman Catholics, or we shall be guilty of the very mistake of forgetting the difference between past centuries and to-day, which we have charged against those who judge these earlier missions by the standards and ideas of the twentieth century. We have a

right to expect now that alike an ultra-Protestant mission and a staunch Roman Catholic mission will do justice to the good work of the other, and respect the self-sacrificing devotion of its workers. We are justly offended when any attack upon a mission is clearly to be traced to religious bitterness, although it is impossible to suppose that the methods adopted by one mission will always be approved by other missions. When 'some ill-considered imputations upon Father Damien by a Presbyterian minister produced a memorable tract by Robert Louis Stevenson,'[1] public opinion was strongly on the side of the Roman Catholic missionary, not because of his religious convictions but solely because the charges arose from religious prejudice.

But we have no right to look for this temper in earlier centuries, when men's minds were violently moved by religious controversy. There is legitimate ground for criticism that, whereas the struggles of the age of the Reformation issued in a very large increase of what henceforth were to be known as Roman Catholic missions, the Reformed Churches, as they are called, were inexcusably slow in turning to the evangelization of the heathen. We should, however, be grossly unfair to the Protestant countries which were the earliest rivals of Spain and Portugal on the seas, if we blamed them for not rejoicing that the Roman Catholics were doing what they themselves were not attempting. It would be even more absurd to suppose that these countries would acquiesce in the distribution of the Far East and the New World by papal gift, and admit that Spain and Portugal had exclusive commercial rights in them. While Christendom accepted the papacy, this division of spheres was

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. vii, article 'Damien.'

reasonable ; but even then only so long as other countries were not in the field. Later, when France interested itself in the growth of commerce, it was intolerable that it should be impeded by earlier settlements made under entirely different circumstances. And Holland and England naturally enough paid no heed to Portuguese or Spanish claims based on such authority ; nor could they do otherwise.

We must go further. It is to be regretted whenever religious feeling sinks to the level of obscuring Christian charity ; but it is unreasonable to require that in the early post-Reformation period English or Dutch Christians should be condemned for their patriotic hatred of the papacy. When religious cleavage had gone to the length of breaking up Western Christendom, when burning was regarded as the fit treatment of a heretic, when, especially, one remembers what the Spanish Netherlands endured under Philip II before the little Dutch Republic came into existence, one has to acknowledge the sheer impossibility of the men of those times to do justice to the missions of the Roman Church, or to seek for charitable explanations of what amounted to pushing the interests of certain countries under the shield of evangelization. What we can see to-day, the way in which we can put ourselves in another's place, is not what we have any right to ask of the men of those earlier times. If the reader to-day is asked to believe that, for example, the missions in Japan were not deliberately making evangelization a cloak for commercial monopoly, but were genuinely seeking to do the work of God in the only way that they knew, he must also be asked to believe that when a Dutch or English trader did his best to gain Japanese commercial favour by insinuating that

the missions were preparing the way for conquest,[1] he was not consciously seeking to destroy the work of Christ. It would be much nearer the truth to say that probably he did not regard the Roman Catholic religion as Christian. And, similarly, when a good Protestant English sea captain refused to carry Roman Catholic missionaries, he was not an anti-Christian ; he was declining to help those whom he regarded as opposing the interests of his country's commerce. Although the missionary may have had no such thought in his mind, the Englishman was not far wrong.

Nothing has been further from the mind of the writer, in attempting to form an estimate of these earlier missions, than to suggest that they were superior to the missions of the nineteenth century and to-day. Times have changed, experience has been gained, there is at any rate something of a science of missions now which only the pioneer efforts of the past, together with their mistakes, have made possible. Doubtless we make our own mistakes to-day, which future generations will point out, but which any one now is thought to be unfriendly to missions if he suggests. Because one

[1] The writer is thinking of certain reports, which he has not incorporated into the text, because they are doubtful. One of them is that Will Adams was asked about the meaning of the Spanish soundings in Japanese harbours, and that he explained that in European countries it would be regarded as an unfriendly act, and went on to a brief sketch of Roman Catholic doings in Europe and the New World. There is a story also at the expense of Spain. It is said that the captain of the stranded *San Felipe*, seeing the unfavourable turn of events, produced a map and explained that the King of Spain first sent missionaries, and then united their converts to his own forces and speedily made a conquest of the country. It is implied that he hoped to gain favour by feeding the Shogun's suspicions of the Portuguese missionaries.

is amazed at the human endurance of the missionaries and martyrs of the past, one is not suggesting that present-day missionaries are timid or soft. Every age, thank God, has its heroes ; and those who are the subjects of these chapters were among the heroes of their day. The conditions of the modern world do not make for so many martyrdoms as in the past ; but many a missionary of to-day is not less a willing martyr at heart than was his predecessor. He is still the man—or woman—who holds up the standard of Christian fortitude and endurance, and the possibility of the sacrifice of all that is attractive.

There were, however, unavoidable circumstances in the past, and which the world's progress in material things has modified, which should lead us to exalt the earlier missionaries. The dangers of the voyage, the boats in which they sailed, the fact that they were generally the first Europeans to penetrate into these distant lands, with the exception of isolated merchant-travellers, the unsettled conditions of the country to which they went, the lack of diplomatic protection and of national rights recognized by international law or treaties between nations, the inability to obtain supplies of European food, the linguistic labours unassisted by dictionaries and grammars, the scarcity of medical aid and the general ignorance of tropical conditions of life, must incline us to be *laudatores temporis acti*. In one particular the Roman missions both of the past and of to-day do seem to have a genuine superiority over most other missions. It is in life-service. When a man goes to a people, knowing that it is for life, to make those people his people, and that land his land, his relation to those among whom he works is different from that of those who go for a few years, or who

have frequent furloughs. But even life-service, which seems so excellent a feature of the greatest missionaries, whether Roman Catholic or others, and which has often made magnificent men and women out of quite ordinary persons, has a disadvantage that may fitly be named in direct application to this book. When one thinks of the mistakes made in South India or in China, one cannot but wonder whether such men as de Nobili and Ricci would not perhaps have seen their work in different perspective if they had enjoyed occasional times of spiritual refreshment in Europe.

Something may be said about the persecution of the Christian missionaries and their converts, not unlike what has been urged in modification of the judgements passed on the missionaries. If we have urged that the missionaries' mistakes were the mistaken ideas of their time, or the mistakes of pioneers, and were not spiritual faults of a defective Christianity, may we find like or other apologies for their heathen persecutors? Now when Christians persecute Christians it is very difficult to find any apology, because there is such a thing as the spirit of Christ. Yet there is immense difference between Christian persecutions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and similar conduct to-day. Our consciousness of this difference proves that we do recognize even here that persecution was a fault of the age and not of the individual. But persecution by non-Christian governments needs no justification. It is statesmanship, wise or unwise. If the persecutions are sporadic outbursts of feeling, the emotional expression of ignorant fear and superstition, there is nothing more to be said. The missionaries take risks. But where it is the settled policy of a country to expel, and if

necessary to kill, foreign missionaries, it is simply for that non-Christian country to decide that its stability is best maintained by resorting to this policy. The missionaries have no ground for objecting ; they are intruding where they are not welcomed, and where they have been warned. Similarly every country must decide what is good for its national life, and its citizens must obey or take the consequences. It is in that way that Christianity won its earliest victories. If a religion appears to the general public and to the rulers to be unpatriotic, its adherents must show their patriotism by dying for the faith rather than denying it. But the somewhat humorous feature of these missionary enterprises—if the thought of men laying down their lives for religious convictions can possibly have a humorous and not solely and altogether a noble and inspiring impression to make upon others—is that the very nations that were most directly affected by these persecutions, and therefore felt them the most strongly, were actually practising similar cruelties and upon fellow Christians. If they regarded these men as obstinate and as disloyal, certainly the European missionaries were similarly obstinate and defiant in their disobedience to the law, and without the excuse of being able to say that it was their own country. It is sometimes asked what, for example, would Philip II of Spain have done if Japanese bonzes or Chinese Confucianists or Indian Mullahs or Brahmans had attempted to enter his possessions without leave, and when expelled had hidden themselves and continued to preach in mufti, or, after due warning that they would be put to death, had slipped back into the country ? But the question need not be asked only of the Spanish King, whose name is eternally execrated for his treatment

of his Netherland subjects. One wonders what our own Tudor Elizabeth would have done ; and one thinks of the fate of those who were regarded as witches. Even in our own days the writer has heard godly men seriously declare that steps ought to be taken by the Government to prevent the spread of Mohammedan preaching in England.

Two legitimate criticisms mar to some extent the character of the missions which have been illustrated. The more serious, according to our judgement, is the jealousy of the Religious Orders. That at times they seriously hurt the work of evangelization seems to be beyond question ; that they were capable of slandering one another and of seeking to damage one another cannot be excused merely by asserting that they represented rival national interests. One can only hope—and not too confidently—that when the missions of the last hundred and fifty years come to be reviewed and criticized by the Christian historians of the twenty-third century we may not be found to have been dwellers in glass houses engaged in throwing stones.

We have, with some hesitation, because perhaps we do not know the matter thoroughly, and because perhaps in spite of a desire to do so we may have failed to shake off entirely the English prejudice against them, felt it right to suspect a defect in the Jesuit training as responsible for policies in China and Japan which have not waited for Protestant criticism but were first condemned by the Roman Church, which seems only to have delayed until its doubts about them were cleared up by reliable investigation in place of contradictory reports.

The sweeping criticisms, carelessly repeated, which imply that the main systems of missionary work in China, Japan, and India were essentially

defective, have been challenged and, we believe, answered. Partly they are not true ; the masses were not neglected in order to curry favour with the great ones of the earth ; a native priesthood, able to take control when the foreign missions withdrew, was not set aside from any spiritual pride or ecclesiastical assumption of superiority. The Jesuits welcomed coloured members into their Society more heartily than even to-day English communities receive them. In other ways the missions were pioneers, and, to some extent, merely anticipated some of our most modern missionary thought. If some were painfully slow to see what was resulting from too ready acceptance of Chinese interpretation of Confucian rites or of Indian explanation of caste, we fear that some in our own days may at length be found to have been not less slow to throw off colour prejudice or to perceive the harm that is being done by a confusion between what is Christian and what is merely Western. We believe that the supposed association between the Gospel and national commerce in Japan ought not to be placed at the doors of the missionaries but was mainly due to the fact that the Japanese first knew the Portuguese as traders and then regarded the missionaries as connected with them.

When in course of time the centre of missionary activity passed from the decaying kingdoms of Spain and Portugal to the newer commercial interests of France, it is very significant that the mistakes and limitations of the earlier missions were corrected. The papacy was ready to put an end to the privileges granted in earlier times and under quite other conditions ; the importance of an indigenous hierarchy was realized, perhaps better than it is grasped by Anglican missions. And there is a quite modern aspect about these missions.

They made their appeal to the secular priesthood, and so through a missionary-hearted body of clergy they stirred up the missionary spirit of the people. They made use of women, they realized the importance of teachers and doctors and nurses. They led the way in the formation of missionary societies, popular missionary literature, and collections of small sums of money.

What we believe to be the main conclusions from these studies of the early modern missions, these pioneers of world-evangelization, are somewhat as follows. Justice must be done to their magnificent services, and we ought not to hear again any language that suggests that English missionary societies are the first and not the last to engage in this most direct unfolding of the mind of Christ. If there is only space for a brief reference to the missionary work of Spain and Portugal and France it should be devoted to praise of its vast extent, its heroic courage, its widely flung reach. If space permits of some criticism, it should be clearly stated that many of these defects were due to the conditions and general ideas of the times, and others to the inexperience of pioneers. But especially there should be prominent insistence upon the contrast between these countries and Holland and Great Britain. Holland's blame is less than ours, because her commercial and colonial struggle for supremacy was of short duration, and because she came into the competition out of the fires of persecution which inevitably precluded any possibility of learning to emulate the work of the Roman Catholic missions. The same cannot be said of ourselves. We were not beyond learning the profits of the slave trade from Roman Catholic countries, which had inherited it from the Moors

and Arabs; we were beyond learning from these same nations to see an imperative call to evangelize the peoples with whom we were brought into contact. It is not perhaps too late to amend this error by more than redoubling our present efforts.

A TABLE OF DATES

1426 Prince Henry of Portugal navigated the Guinea coast.
1445 Portuguese reached Bilad Ghana (Guinea) and Senegal.
1453 Capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II.
1460 Death of Prince Henry the Navigator.
1469 Marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon.
1474 Isabella, Queen of Castile.
1479 Ferdinand inherited Aragon.
1485 Accession of Henry VII of England.
1486 Bartolomé Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope.
1492 Christopher Columbus discovered America.
Fall of Granada.
1493 Papal division of the New World between Portugal and Spain.
1496 Charter to Cabot and his sons by Henry VII : voyage to the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland.
1498 Vasco da Gama reached Calicut.
Death of Savonarola.
1500 Discovery of the Brazilian coast by Cabral.
1504 Death of Isabella of Castile.
1507 Ferdinand of Aragon took over the government of Castile.
1509 Accession of Henry VIII of England.
1510 Albuquerque took Goa.
1511 Albuquerque took Malacca.
1514 Greek text of the N.T. published by order of Cardinal Ximenes.
1516 Death of Ferdinand of Aragon : Charles V proclaimed King of Spain.
Erasmus' Greek Testament published at Basel.
1517 Luther's theses published at Wittenberg.
Charles V went to Spain.
1519–21 Magellan's westward voyage.
1520 Charles V crowned Emperor.
Luther excommunicated.
1522 Conquest of Mexico completed.
1525 Babur founded the Moghul empire in India
1526 Battle of Mohacs.

1530 Confession of Augsburg.
1532 Conquest of Peru.
1534 Foundation of the Society of Jesus (1540 papal approval).
1534–41 Cartier's voyages to Canada.
1545 Council of Trent begun : suspended 1552–62, closed 1563.
1546 Death of Luther.
1547 Accession of Edward VI of England.
1549–51 S. Francis Xavier in Japan.
1552 Treaty of Passau.
Death of S. Francis Xavier.
1553 Accession of Mary of England.
1555–6 Abdication of Charles V : Philip II of Spain.
Enthronement of Akbar.
1557 Portuguese factory founded at Macao.
1558 Accession of Elizabeth of England.
1562 Beginning of the Wars of Religion in France.
French occupation of Port Royal.
1564 Death of Calvin.
1565 Establishment of the Inquisition in the Netherlands.
1567 Arrival of Alva in the Netherlands.
1571 Battle of Lepanto.
1572 Massacre of S. Bartholomew.
Drake attacked Nombre de Dios.
1576 The ' Spanish Fury ' at Antwerp.
1576–78 Frobisher's voyages to the North.
1577–80 Drake's voyage round the world.
1581 Union of crowns of Spain and Portugal.
1583 William of Orange (hereditary Count of Holland and Zealand) : assassinated 1584.
1585 Drake's expedition to the West Indies.
1585–87 Davis's voyages to the North.
1587 Drake destroyed the Spanish shipping at Cadiz.
1588 Spanish Armada.
1590 Battle of Ivry.
1598 Accession of Philip III of Spain and Portugal.
1600 English East India Company charter.
1601 Dutch East India Company charter.
1603 Accession of James I of England.
1603–4 Champlain's first voyages.
1605 French settlement at Port Royal.
Accession of Jahangir.
License to the Dutch to trade in Japan.

1607 English colony planted in Virginia.
1608 Quebec founded by the French.
1609 Truce between Spain and the United Provinces.
1610 Assassination of Henry IV of France.
1613–23 English factory at Hirado in Japan.
1616 Richelieu Minister of State in France.
1618 Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.
1620 The voyage of *The Mayflower*.
Dutch trading station in New Netherlands.
1621 Accession of Philip IV of Spain.
1623 Massacre of Amboyna.
1624 Richelieu chief Minister of France.
1625 Accession of Charles I of England.
1628 Accession of Shahjahan.
1629 Massachusetts charter: war between England and France: surrender of Quebec.
1632 Death of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.
Canada and Acadia restored to France.
1633 English settlements on coast of Bengal.
1634 Colony of Maryland founded.
1640 Duke of Braganza proclaimed King John of Portugal.
1641 Portugal surrendered Malacca to the Dutch.
Foundation of Montreal.
1642 Death of Richelieu.
1643 Death of Louis XIII of France.
Mazarin chief Minister.
1648 Peace of Westphalia.
1649 Execution of Charles I of England.
1651 First English Navigation Act.
Van Riebeck founded Cape Colony.
1655 Capture of Jamaica by English.
1657–1707 Aurungzeb.
1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell.
1660 Charles II of England: marriage of Louis XIV of France with Maria Theresa.
1661 Death of Mazarin. Bombay ceded by Portugal to England (handed over to E.I.C. 1668).
Beginning of personal rule of Louis XIV.
1663 Colony founded in Carolina.
1664 New Amsterdam (= New York) taken by English.
First French Company founded for trading with India.
1667 New Netherlands ceded to Great Britain.
1682 Colony of Pennsylvania founded.
1683 Death of Colbert.

1685 Accession of James II of England.
1689 Accession of William III and Mary of England.
1702 Accession of Anne of England.
1704–9 Marlborough's battles.
1713 Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay ceded to England.
1714 Accession of George I of England.
1715 Death of Louis XIV of France.
1727 Accession of George II of England.
1729 'Methodist' revival began at Oxford.
1746 Madras taken by the French : Cape Breton taken by the English.
1749 Dupleix secures French control in the Carnatic.
1756 Calcutta seized by Siraj-ud-daula.
1757 Clive took Calcutta, Hoogli, Chandernagore.
1759 Capture of Quebec, and death of Wolfe.
Jesuits suppressed in Portugal.
1760 Accession of George III of England.
Capture of Montreal : occupation of Canada.
1763 Canada ceded to England.
1764 Jesuits suppressed in France.
1773 Suppression of the Society of Jesus.
Warren Hastings first Governor-General of Bengal.
1774 Accession of Louis XVI of France.
1776 American Declaration of Independence : recognized in England in 1783.
1789 Beginning of French Revolution.
1791 Death of John Wesley.
1795 Surrender of Ceylon to Great Britain.
1799 Napoleon, first Consul.
1804 Coronation of Napoleon.
1806 Effective occupation of Cape Colony by British
1807 Abolition of slave trade.
1815 Battle of Waterloo.

ACCESSION OF POPES

1471	Sixtus IV.
1484	Innocent VIII.
1492	Alexander VI.
1503	Pius III.
	Julius II.
1513	Leo X.
1522	Adrian VI.
1523	Clement VII.
1534	Paul III.
1550	Julius III.
1555	Marcellus II.
	Paul IV.
1559	Pius IV.
1566	S. Pius V.
1572	Gregory XIII.
1585	Sixtus V.
1590	Urban VII.
	Gregory XIV.
1591	Innocent IX.
1592	Clement VIII.
1605	Leo XI.
	Paul V.
1621	Gregory XV.
1623	Urban VIII.
1644	Innocent X.
1655	Alexander VII.
1667	Clement IX.
1670	Clement X.
1676	Innocent XI.
1689	Alexander VIII.
1691	Innocent XII.
1700	Clement XI.
1721	Innocent XIII.
1724	Benedict XIII.
1730	Clement XII.
1740	Benedict XIV.
1758	Clement XIII.
1769	Clement XIV.
1775	Pius VI.
1800	Pius VII, died 1823.

SOME IMPORTANT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN MISSIONS

1516 Beginning of the missionary labours of las Casas.
1541 S. Francis Xavier sailed to India, and passed on to Japan.
1582 Ricci's entry into China.
1622 Foundation of *Sacra Congregatio de propaganda Fide* (1627—the Missionary College of the *Propaganda*).
1633 The Jesuits resumed their labours in Canada.
1638 Japan closed to foreigners.
1649 Foundation of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (1661—Incorporated, and name changed to the New England Company).
1658 Foundation of the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*.
1681 Foundation of *Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*.
1698 Foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
1701 Foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
1723 Suppression of Christianity in China.
1732 Beginnings of the Moravian Missions.
1792 Foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society. (Within about twenty years many of the large Evangelical Missionary Societies of England and Scotland were founded.)
1822 Foundation of *La Propagation de la Foi* (its juvenile branch—*La Sainte Enfance*—dates from 1843).

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